

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

DECEMBER, 1945

1945, 8 NYT

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY: \$1.25 THE COPY--\$4 THE YEAR

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

PUBLISHED AT 5 PATERSON STREET, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, BY AUTHORITY OF GENERAL CONVENTION, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A JOINT COMMITTEE OF SAID CONVENTION, AND UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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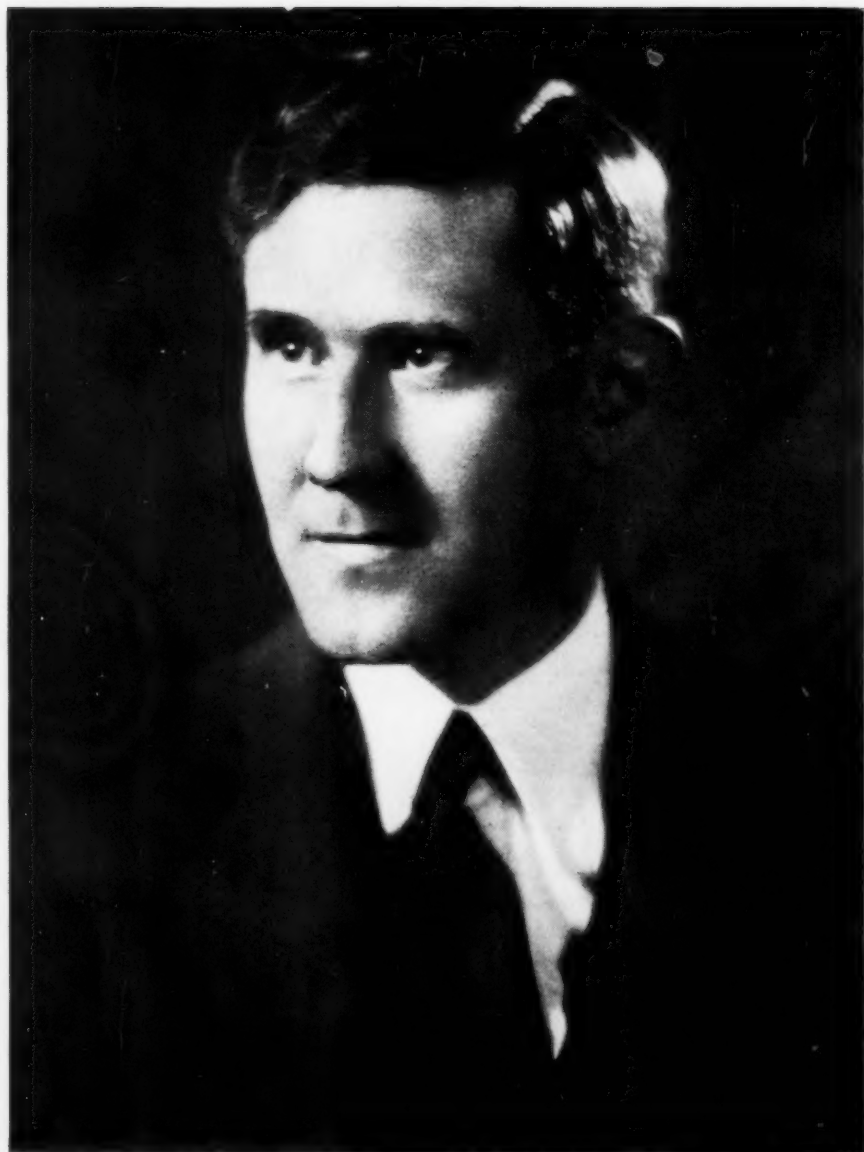
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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 5 Paterson St., New Brunswick, N. J. Address all subscriptions to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE as above. Four Dollars per year in advance. Checks should be drawn payable to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

EDITORIAL OFFICE: Garrison, New York. All communications and manuscripts for publication, including books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed as above. The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors.

Entered as second-class matter September 17, 1935, at the Post Office at New Brunswick, N. J., with additional entry at the Post Office at Richmond, Va., under the Act of March 3, 1879.



COURTESY *The Church Militant*

Warren Kay

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December 23, 1884—September 5, 1945

Deacon, June 5, 1910; Priest, December 24, 1911

Doctor of Philosophy, Princeton University, 1915

Professor of Church History, Episcopal Theological School, 1923-1945

Associate Editor, **HISTORICAL MAGAZINE**, 1932-1945

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

VOL. XIV

DECEMBER, 1945

No. 4

IN MEMORIAM

JAMES ARTHUR MULLER

(1884-1945)

Priest—Professor—Historian

The Editor and his associates record their deep regret at the passing of their colleague, James Arthur Muller. Many beautiful tributes have been paid to his character and his genius for friendship, all of which were richly deserved. We, however, think especially of his eminence as a teacher and writer of Church History.

His major historical works were:

Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction (1926)

The Letters of Stephen Gardiner (1933)

Apostle of China (1937) (A Life of Bishop

Schereschewsky) Chinese edition, 1940.

The Episcopal Theological School, 1867-1943.

As an historical writer he set a high value upon research. His biography of an Apostle in China is enriched by the fact that he found in a dusty basement a collection of uncatalogued letters which added immensely to its value. Both as a writer and a teacher he had a passion for accurate statement. He regarded "Dates, events and definitely expressed opinion as the stuff of which history is made."

Dr. Muller was deeply interested in this Magazine, to which from time to time he made valuable contributions.

He will be greatly missed and his memory will be long cherished.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

HISTORIC PARISHES OF AMERICA: BRUTON PARISH

*By George Carrington Mason**

The quality of being historic admits of no degrees of comparison, but, if such comparison were possible, few parishes in America could so justly be awarded the superlative degree as Bruton Parish in Virginia. Centered at Williamsburg, the final capital of the historic Virginia colony, midway between Jamestown, which was "the Cradle of the Republic," and Yorktown, where our independence was finally won, Bruton Parish lay at the very heart of history-in-the-making, and its records are adorned by many of the greatest names of the American Revolution and the colonial era that preceded it.

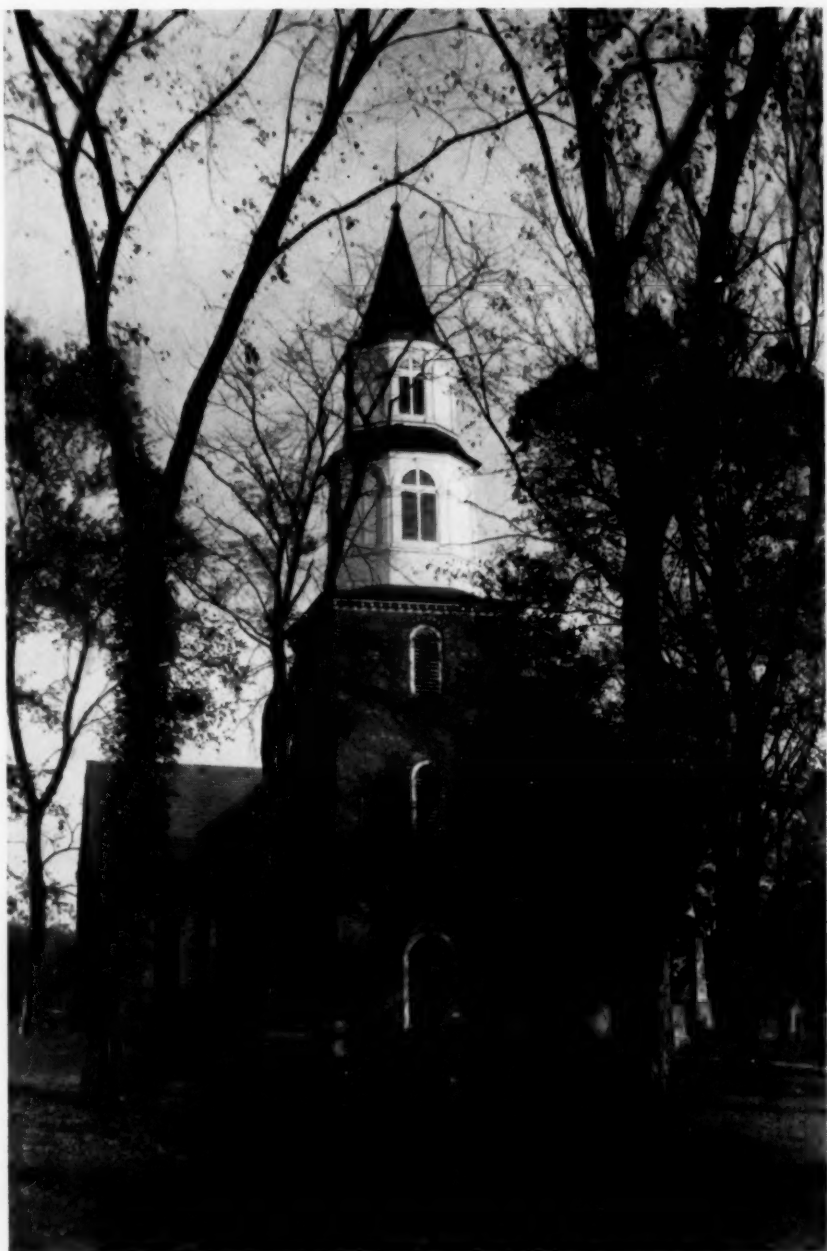
In its old parish church were held the services of prayer and thanksgiving called forth by national stress and great historical events. This was the church of all the people and, throughout the colonial period, it furnished the only common meeting-ground for high and low, rich and poor, tory and patriot, since all were legally required to attend its services. Bruton's priceless treasures, of time-hallowed prayer book, font and communion silver, all bear the imprint of history, and the venerable church itself is one of the chief treasures of Williamsburg, the historic city which has been newly restored to its colonial appearance, "that the future may learn from the past."

Historically, the ancient Virginia parish of Bruton is the direct successor of the Established English Church's first American parish, which was founded at Jamestown in 1607. In the same sense, Williamsburg is the spiritual heir of Jamestown, while Bruton Parish Church, as the court church of the last colonial capital at Williamsburg, symbolizes to our own age the earlier court church of the first capital on Jamestown Island. The recent restoration of Bruton Church to all of its original beauty has given fresh life and interest to its rich historical heritage.

The parish of Bruton and the city of Williamsburg both had their beginning in the frontier outpost of Middle Plantation, whose settlement was fostered by act of assembly dated September, 1632, offering fifty acres of land to any colonist who would "seat" there, with exemption from general taxes as long as no one else seated "without" him, or further into the hostile wilderness of "the Great Forest."¹

*Historiographer, Diocese of Southern Virginia.

¹Hening, *Statutes at Large*, I, 208.



BRUTON PARISH CHURCH, WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

Third church of the parish; the court church of the colonial capital. Erected, 1710-1715; lengthened 25 feet at the chancel end, 1752; restored and consecrated, 1907; restoration completed, 1938.

Middle Plantation was named for its location midway of "the Pale," a palisade of logs driven endwise into the soil, which had been built by Governor Sir John Harvey in 1632, in order to defend the infant colony from the Indians. This barrier crossed the Virginia Peninsula at its narrowest point, by connecting the head of Queen's Creek on the York River with the head of Archer's Hope Creek (now College Creek) on the James, and excluded the savage tribes from all of the colony's territory below it.²

Like most of the earliest settlements in Virginia, Middle Plantation constituted a plantation parish, but there is no record of its having had, in the beginning, either a minister or a church. As in the case of other such parishes, Middle Plantation was first absorbed by a neighboring parish and later resumed its separate identity by being erected as a larger parish under the original name.³ Middle Plantation was thus absorbed in January, 1639/40, when it was specifically included within the bounds set for Chiskiack Parish in York County by the act of assembly which created the new parish at that date.⁴ Chiskiack's name was changed to Hampton Parish in 1643.⁵

We have definite proof that Middle Plantation thus ceased to exist as a separate parish, in a York County court order of June, 1646, calling for "a perfect list of tytheables in the several parishes" of that county, and listing these parishes as York, Hampton and [New] Poquoson.⁶ The earliest known documentary reference to Middle Plantation Parish occurs in a York County court order of 25th August, 1656, dealing with a boundary dispute between this parish and the new parish of Marston, formed in 1654 out of the western end of both Hampton Parish and York County.⁷ Since this dispute was settled on the basis of the bounds set for Marston Parish at its erection, it seems reasonable to assume that these bounds antedated those assigned to Middle Plantation Parish at its formation and hence had priority over them. On this assumption, Middle Plantation's independence as a parish may well have been re-established by county court order in 1656, pursuant to the act of assembly of that year, which directed all county commissioners to divide their counties into parishes.⁸

Middle Plantation Parish, which lay wholly in York County, was

²*Massachusetts Historical Society Collections (4th Series)*, IX, 111.

³Cf. the case of Martin's Brandon Parish in Prince George County, an independent plantation parish from its founding in 1620 until 1643, when it was included in Weyanoke Parish at the latter's formation, and then became a separate parish again in 1655, by county court order.

⁴*William and Mary Quarterly* (2), IV, 155.

⁵Hening, *Statutes at Large*, I, 251.

⁶*York County Orders, Wills, 1645-49*, 14.

⁷*York County Deeds, Orders, Wills, 1633-57*, I, 300.

⁸Hening, *Statutes at Large*, I, 469.

combined with Harrop Parish in James City County, by act of assembly of 1st April, 1658, to form the new parish of Middletown.⁹ No record has been found of any church having previously been built for either of the component parishes. However, since Harrop had been formed to spare its parishioners the danger and inconvenience of attending Jamestown Church,¹⁰ and had enjoyed a separate existence of nearly one and a half decades, it seems probable that some house of worship had been erected for this parish. If so, it may have been the first church built within Bruton's later limits.

A church building evidently was constructed for Marston Parish, soon after its formation, for, in 1657, Major Joseph Croshaw gave to Marston Parish one acre of his Poplar Neck plantation, near Indian Fields, for a churchyard, on which land stood the church already built for this parish.¹¹ This early church is of more than passing interest to our story of Bruton, since it will later appear that it served as the first and only Upper Church of that parish, for more than a decade after its formation. Marston Church stood at the head of Carter's Creek, four miles from Williamsburg, and near the modern settlement of Magruder. The site is still marked by scattered colonial brick and old tombstones of the Garrett family and remains undisturbed by the recent development of the surrounding region as Camp Peary.

A deed recorded at Yorktown shows that a parish church was constructed at once for the new Middletown Parish. This deed, from Ralph Simkins to Samuel Fenn, is dated 5th March, 1658/9, and conveys 37 acres of woodland, reserving "2 acres, part thereof, given formerly by the said Simkins to the Parishioners of Middletown parish and on which a Church is now building."¹² The exact site of Middletown Parish Church has not been located, but since it later became known as "Middle Plantation Church," it seems assured that it stood at the present Williamsburg.

This Middletown Parish Church was probably completed about the year 1660 and must have been in service by 1666, when the first parish churches of both Lancaster and Christ Church Parishes, in the present Middlesex County, were specified to be built "according to the Modall of the Middle-plantacon Church."¹³ Nothing is known of the size or type of construction of these two Middlesex churches, but they were almost certainly frame buildings. Since they were both distinguished by the rare and decorative feature of a rood screen, dividing nave from chancel, it seems certain that this feature must also

⁹Hening, *Statutes at Large*, I, 498.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, I, 298, 317.

¹¹*York County Deeds, Orders, Wills, 1657-62*, III, 77.

¹²Tyler, *Williamsburg*, 93.

¹³Chamberlayne, *Vestry Book of Christ Church Parish*.

have been present in the Middle Plantation church taken as a model.

Middletown and Marston Parishes were united in 1674, by act of assembly, and the consolidated parish was called Bruton,¹⁴ a name apparently derived from the ancestral home of the Ludwell family and of Governor Sir William Berkeley, both of whom came from Bruton in Somerset County, England.¹⁵

In the same year, Thomas Claiborne and his wife, Sarah (daughter of Samuel Fenn), made a deed conveying the wife's share of Ralph Simkin's land at Middle Plantation, again excepting the "two acres on which the Parish Church of Bruton now standeth, formerly given by Ralph Simkins to the parishioners of Bruton."¹⁶ This deed, in association with the earlier one already quoted, definitely identifies the former Middletown Parish Church at Middle Plantation as the first Bruton Church.

No colonial vestry book has been preserved for either Middletown or Marston Parish, but the latter's register of births and deaths, started in 1662, was continued as the register of the combined parish. It was fortunately found and preserved, but had been badly mutilated by someone ignorant of its value, the births from 1662 to 1739 having been torn out of the front of the book and the deaths from 1751 to 1792 out of the back.¹⁷

A vestry book was started for Bruton Parish, when it was formed in 1674, but it disappeared after the Civil War and seems lost beyond recovery.¹⁸ The last Church historian known to have had possession of this book, the Reverend John C. McCabe, published extensive transcriptions from it in 1855-6, which remain almost our only source of information about many important details of the parish's history.¹⁹

The first entry in the vestry book, as transcribed by Dr. McCabe, was dated 18th April, 1674. It made no mention of the parish church, but dealt with the purchase of a glebe farm for the new parish. Three and a half years later, in November, 1677, there was recorded the vestry's decision "that neither the Upper Church nor the lower Church should be repaired, but that a New Church should be built with brick att the Middle Plantation."²⁰

The two older churches mentioned in this order were respectively those of Marston and Middletown, the two parishes which had been combined in 1674 to form Bruton Parish. Since the Upper Church

¹⁴*William and Mary Quarterly* (1), III, 170.

¹⁵Tyler, *Williamsburg*, 94.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 96.

¹⁷*William and Mary Quarterly* (1), III, 171.

¹⁸Tyler, *Williamsburg*, 94.

¹⁹*Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register*, VIII (1855-6), 557.

²⁰Goodwin, *Record of Bruton Church*, 122.

stood near the modern village of Magruder and the Lower Church at what is now Williamsburg, they were less than four miles apart and the same territory could readily be served by a single house of worship. The two old churches appear to have remained in use until the new church was completed.

The project of building this new church was initiated with an unusual display of community spirit, in the form of a general subscription of cash, to supplement the parish tithes of tobacco levied for the purpose. In the order of 1677 for the new church's erection, the churchwardens were "desired to take subscriptions from the Honourable Thomas Ludwell, Daniel Parke, Esq., [and] Major Jo: Page of their former promises, and also of all other Gentlemen who will freely subscribe their benevolence to so Christian a work."

That these promises were fully kept is shown by the vestry book's recording of gifts of £20 from Colonel John Page, £10 from Philip Ludwell and £20 by will of Thomas Ludwell, as well as subscriptions of £5 apiece from Bruton's first rector, Reverend Rowland Jones, and eight members of his congregation. In recognition of their liberality, Colonel Page and Mr. Philip Ludwell were each accorded the privilege of building a family pew in the chancel of the new church. Following colonial custom, these pews were placed against the outer wall of the church, at each side of the communion table and its enclosing rail.

Colonel Page's subscription was accompanied by a "promise to give sufficient land for the Church and Church Yard," which was amply fulfilled in 1682 by his donation of the land on which the new church was built, "together with sixty feet of the same, every way for a Church-yard, forever."

Completion of this church was delayed by a disagreement which led its first contractor, George Marable, to sue the parish vestry, barely a year after work was started in 1679. Two years later, in June, 1681, the vestry agreed with Captain Francis Page to build the church at the same place, but with some variations from the original plan. The new church was recorded as finished, on the 29th November, 1683, and was then ordered to be dedicated on the ensuing Feast of the Epiphany, 4th January, 1684.

It was long supposed that the second Bruton Church occupied the same site as the present church building, underneath which, at its first restoration in 1905, an ancient foundation wall was discovered. This wall was unearthed during excavation for a crypt window near the existing church's northeast corner and was erroneously identified by the restorer as a part of the earlier structure of 1683.²¹

²¹Goodwin, *Bruton Church Restored*, 89.

As might have been deduced, both from the terms of Colonel Page's gift of its site and from Theodorick Bland's plat of Williamsburg in 1699, which correctly shows the building's location on this site, the church lay in the center of the existing churchyard. Here its actual foundation was first unearthed in 1938 and positively identified by the fact that all of the tombstones, representing burials made during the active life of the second Bruton Church, are located in or around the foundation's east end. This was always the most favored place of burial in a colonial church, since it contained the chancel and sanctuary.

A few tombstones appear to be exceptions to this statement, but only because of their having been moved to new locations within the present church. Among these apparent exceptions are the slabs of Colonel John Page,²² donor of the second church's site, and of the Reverend Rowland Jones, its first rector, which was removed in 1905 from his grave in the north side of the old church's chancel, to save it from complete disintegration.²³

The significance of this identification of the unearthed foundation is underscored by a vestry order of 1684, providing that the fee for the high privilege of burial in the chancel of the new church was to be 1,000 pounds of tobacco or £5 sterling, payable to the minister, while the lesser privilege of burial in the nave of the church would cost only half as much, the fee being payable to the parish.

Excavation of the foundation revealed that the brick church of 1683 measured sixty by twenty-four feet, inside, with upper walls about two feet thick. The most striking feature of the foundation is that its side walls are buttressed, proving that the church was of Gothic design, like the contemporary Old Brick Church in Isle of Wight County and the Jamestown Church itself, hitherto the only two known examples of a Gothic colonial church in America.

Soon after the church's completion it was proposed to adorn it with "a steeple and a Ring of Bells," but there is no record that this was done, and the foundation shows no evidence that the building ever had a tower.

Despite its architectural distinction, the second Bruton Church seems to have been of flimsy construction and soon became a source of expense to the vestry, through its constant need of repair. The interior woodwork of the church had to be "rectified and repaired" in 1693, barely a decade after its completion, and only ten years later, a new pulpit was required, the pews were again repaired and the floor was raised.

²²Goodwin, *Record of Bruton Church*, 84.

²³*Ibid.*, 90.

Following the removal of the colonial government from Jamestown to Williamsburg in 1699, Bruton Church first assumed its distinguished role as the court church of the colony. Its new position was clearly brought out in 1704, when the Colonial Council obtained the vestry's consent "that the South side of the Chancel of the Church (including the pew where his Excellency now sits) be fitted up as a pew for the Governour and Council for the time being," at the government's expense.

Since the second Bruton Church had been planned and built without any idea of its becoming the court church of the colonial capital, it was inevitably over-crowded by the large increase in attendance during sessions of the General Assembly, General Court and Colonial Council, and this situation contributed to its early replacement by a larger house of worship. The bad structural condition of the second church also justified its replacement and on the 1st October, 1706, the vestry levied 20,000 pounds of tobacco for a new church.

Under the circumstances it was only natural that the Bruton vestry should look to the colonial government for financial aid in providing a more adequate church building. The vestry, therefore, appealed to the Governor, Council and House of Burgesses, on 21st November, 1710, for "their Generous Contribution" toward this object. At the burgesses' request the vestry stated that a church of the same size as before, costing £500, was sufficient for the needs of the parishioners and, therefore, all that the vestry felt justified in undertaking at the parish's expense. The government responded promptly with an appropriation of £200, to provide seats in the new church for the Governor, Council and Burgesses.²⁴

On the 1st March, 1710/11, the vestry received from Governor Spotswood "a plan or draught of a Church (whose length is 75 foot and bredth 28 foot in the clear with two wings on each side, whose width is 22 foot)," accompanied by a proposal that the vestry should build only 53 feet of the 75-foot length and that the government should build the remainder. An official memorandum of December, 1713, giving the dimensions and estimated cost of the wings, shows that the section 22 feet wide, whose construction was assumed by the government, consisted of the transept, which was to project 19 feet on each side of the church.²⁵

The governor's plan for the new building was approved by the vestry and bids were at once obtained for its construction, but were rejected as exorbitant. On the 11th November, 1711, a contract for

²⁴*William and Mary Quarterly* (1), XXI, 249.

²⁵*Calendar of State Papers*, I, 174.

the building was awarded to James Morris and he was given three years to finish it. A new draft of the building was ordered in March, 1712, probably to replace the original plan, worn out by two years of use, and not necessarily to carry out any change in design.

The new church was practically finished by the 2nd December, 1715, when it was placed in service, although the roof was not shingled until 1717, having merely been tarred in the meantime. Upon completion of the third Bruton Church, the vestry's first concern was the proper seating of the congregation in their handsome new building and, on the 9th January, 1716, it was ordered that the men sit on the north side of the church and the women on the south, in accordance with the prevailing colonial custom. It was further ordered "that Mr. Commissary Blair sitt in the head pew in the Church, and that he may carry any Minister into the same" and "that the Parishioners be seated in the Church and none others," this restriction being intended to apply to the nave or body of the church, as distinct from the transept, which had been built to provide seats for non-members of the parish.

The usual gallery in the west end was almost certainly provided when the church was built. A large part of it was soon assigned to the William and Mary College students, and the stairs were shut off with a door that could be locked, apparently to keep outsiders from crowding into the space thus reserved, rather than to confine the college boys during service, as some have supposed.

As a result of the capital city's rapid growth in population, more seating space was soon needed for the church's enlarged congregation, and it was most readily obtained by the construction of more galleries. The first additional gallery authorized was in the south transept and was built in 1720 by Mr. John Holloway, at his own expense. This was at first a private gallery but, in 1753, the half nearest the pulpit was assigned to William and Mary College, perhaps for the use of its officers and faculty.

A gallery for the boys of the parish was next added along the south side of the nave in 1721 and was extended to the transept wing in 1744, while a corresponding gallery along the north wall of the nave was built by Mr. Benjamin Waller in 1762. The only other available gallery location, in the north transept, was occupied at an unrecorded date by a gallery for the colored servants of the parish and entrance to it was provided by a covered outside stairway built against the west wall of the transept.

At the height of Williamsburg's importance as the colonial capital, even these gallery additions proved inadequate to seat the crowds attending services and in February, 1751, it was decided to enlarge the

church. The plan adopted is revealed by an advertisement of 15th May, 1752, in the *Virginia Gazette*, requesting bids "for an addition to be made to the East End of the Church here to make that End of equal Length from the Wings as the West End." This change added twenty-five feet to the chancel and brought the church up to its present inside length of one hundred feet, with the transept midway between the ends.

The proposed enlargement of Bruton Church was so obviously occasioned by its position as the court church that the colonial government assumed the full cost of the change, by act of assembly of February, 1752.²⁶ This act appropriated up to £300 for the enlargement of the church and not more than £200 additional for the purchase of an organ. The vestry had unsuccessfully petitioned the General Assembly to provide such an instrument in 1744,²⁷ and Governor Gooch had vainly appealed for its gift by royal bounty in 1729.²⁸ The organ actually cost more than the amount appropriated, the difference being made up by private subscription and the subscribers later petitioning the assembly for reimbursement.²⁹

This organ was housed in a loft built at the east end of the enlarged chancel, with access by an outside covered staircase leading to a doorway high up in the east gable of the church, near its southeast corner. The brickwork of the transept wings having become insecure, they were both shortened by five feet, at about this time, perhaps to clear the present churchyard wall, which was completed by Samuel Spurr in 1756.

The final improvement of the present Bruton Church, during the colonial period, was made in 1769, when the construction of a new steeple, apparently the existing brick tower and wooden belfry, followed James Tarpley's gift of a bell to the parish in 1761. Since the vestry ordered that the contractor for this steeple, Benjamin Powell, should "have the Old Bell and the Materials of the old Steeple," in part payment for his work, the new structure evidently replaced an earlier one, which may have been merely a frame belfry or cupola on the church roof.

A letter of 1718, from Governor Spotswood to the Lords of the British Admiralty, suggests that Tarpley's gift replaced a ship's bell salvaged from the wreck of the British warship "Garland" on the Carolina coast. This bell, the governor stated, he had "caused to be brought

²⁶Hening, *Statutes at Large*, VI, 630.

²⁷McIlwaine, *Journal of House of Burgesses*, 1742-49, VII, 102, 121.

²⁸Gooch Transcript Papers, I, 135.

²⁹McIlwaine, *Journal of House of Burgesses*, 1752-58, VIII, 330.

up to Williamsburgh, where there was none before to call the people to Church."⁸⁰

This costly improvement of the church aroused some criticism, which was amusingly expressed in the following "squib," published in the *Virginia Gazette* of 15th February, 1770: "Would it not be more eligible, ye Brutonians, and would ye not with more cheerfulness pay the assessment, to have money raised upon you to mend the streets of Williamsburg, and the roads to the College and Capitol landing (which are much in want of repair) than to be taxed to pay for a STEEPLE, which is much about as like one as the Emporour of Morocco's pigeon house, or the thing upon the Turkish mosques which they call a minaret, where a fellow knocks upon a piece of wood with a mallet to call the Mussulmen to prayers?"

In spite of this protest, the steeple was built and, with its completion, the historic church building attained its final colonial form and then remained practically unchanged in appearance, both within and without, for the next sixty years, except for the ravages of time and the elements.

Of all the surviving colonial churches in Virginia, the present Bruton Church is the oldest that has been maintained in continuous service since its erection. The story of this historic church and parish cannot be adequately told without including an account of the consecrated men who successively held the rectorship of Bruton, during these long years of unbroken service in the formative years of our nation's life.

The first rector of the parish, the Reverend Rowland Jones, was born in England about 1640 and was educated at Oxford University. He was a man of some means, as attested by his liberal subscription toward the building of the second Bruton Church. The vestry registered their complete satisfaction with his ministry, in 1675, by presenting him to the governor for induction into the parish, which would give him a legal right to the rectorship for life. There were few inducted ministers in the colony at that time, but there is legal evidence that Mr. Jones actually was inducted,⁸¹ and he served the parish until his death in April, 1688.

During the same year the Reverend James Sclater, rector of a neighboring parish, volunteered to serve as minister of Bruton and was offered a six months' trial, on a part-time basis, but served only a few weeks of it.

On the 1st July, 1688, a similar trial was offered to the Reverend Samuel Eburne, who came highly recommended by the colony's gover-

⁸⁰Brock, *Letters of Governor Spotswood, 1710-22*, I, 67.

⁸¹*Virginia Historical Magazine*, XXII, 401.

nor, Lord Effingham. Mr. Eburne was promised, in case his probation was mutually satisfactory, a seven years' engagement as rector of the parish, with the legal salary of 16,000 pounds of tobacco per annum and the full use of the glebe or parish farm.

Toward the close of this period, when Mr. Eburne desired a renewal of this agreement for a similar term, the vestry ordered "that no Minister be hereafter entertained but from year to year, and that they allow and pay him only according to law." Mr. Eburne then refused to stay any longer than had been originally agreed, and the vestry released him with a testimonial to his good behavior in all his ministerial functions. They added, for the record, that they unanimously desired his continuance as minister, but that "by reason of his growing into years, he hath chosen to go into a warmer climate."

The next rector of Bruton was the Reverend Cope Doyley, who began his ministry in the parish in 1697. Having previously fought for his rights with the vestry of his former parish of Denbigh, who had "shut the church doors against him" and forced him to appeal to the Governor and Council for redress,³² he seems to have been content to stay at Bruton on the vestry's own terms and they, in turn, willingly engaged him from year to year, until his death in 1702.

The Bruton vestry's opposition to the permanent engagement of ministers was shared by most of the other colonial vestries. They had little opportunity to verify the qualifications of applicants for the rectorship and were, therefore, unwilling to risk induction, under which an unworthy minister might be saddled on them for life, since he could not legally be displaced after being inducted.

This opposition flared up into a bitter struggle between the Bruton vestry and Governor Francis Nicholson, who claimed the legal right to induct a minister of his own choice into any vacant parish whose vestry should fail to present a candidate for induction, within six months after the vacancy occurred. The governor resented the vestry's dismissal of their next minister, the Reverend Solomon Wheatley, at the end of a year's trial engagement, and tried vainly to induce them to accept his induction.

As a result of this controversy, the Reverend Isaac Grace, who had been invited by the Bruton vestry to succeed the dismissed rector, never served as such, and Mr. Wheatley continued to officiate until his death in 1710. The vestry stoutly maintained their rights to the last and went on record against any future induction into the parish, before taking steps to engage another rector.

³²McIlwaine, *Executive Journals of Council*, I, 340.

Because of Bruton's influential position at the seat of government, its vestry played an important part in the long and successful struggle of the Virginia vestries to control the appointment of ministers and, in 1718, the Bruton vestry's courageous stand was vindicated by their successful suit against Governor Spotswood, to determine that the right of presentation lay with the parishes and not with the Crown.³³

With the construction of a new building better suited to the role of court church, it was altogether appropriate that, in 1710, the vestry of Bruton Parish accepted as their next rector the first churchman in Virginia, the Reverend James Blair, commissary of the Bishop of London and, as such, the spiritual head of the Church in this colony. He had been appointed a member of the Council in 1689, was long president of that body and was, *ex officio*, acting governor of Virginia in 1740-41. During most of his more than half a century of service as commissary, he was in conflict with three successive colonial governors and was influential in securing the recall of all three. Among the clergy who supported these governors, his Scottish birth aroused much prejudice and even the validity of his ordination was questioned by his opponents, but he was one of the great intellectual forces of his time and a distinguished rector of Bruton to the end of his long life.

After Mr. Blair's death in 1743, a worthy successor to him as rector was found in the Reverend Thomas Dawson, who had frequently supplied the pulpit for the commissary, and was, therefore, well known to all the Bruton vestry. Following the death of his brother, the Reverend William Dawson, in 1753, Thomas Dawson succeeded him both as commissary and president of William and Mary College. He continued to serve as minister of Bruton until 1759 and died two years later.

Bruton's next rector was the Reverend William Yates, also a president of William and Mary, who served from 1759 to 1764. He was followed by still another president of the college, the Reverend James Horrocks, who also served as commissary, and held all three offices until his death in 1772. In his place the vestry elected the Reverend Josiah Johnson, but he lived less than a year after taking charge.

The last colonial rector of Bruton Parish was the Reverend John Bracken, who served it through two wars and the difficult times that followed the disestablishment of the English Church and the incorporation of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. Toward the close of his long ministry of forty-five years, lasting from 1773 to 1818, he stood so high among the Virginia clergy that in 1812 he became president of William and Mary College and was elected bishop of the

³³*Virginia Historical Magazine*, XXII, 401.

diocese of Virginia, although he was not consecrated as bishop and resigned a year later.

The Reverend Reuel Keith, D. D., succeeded Dr. Bracken as rector in 1821, but resigned three years later to accept a professorship at the Virginia Theological Seminary, then being organized at Alexandria.

Following colonial precedent, Bruton's next rector, the Reverend William H. Wilmer, D. D., was also elected president of the College of William and Mary. His inspiring ministry, begun in 1826, was cut short by his untimely death, only a year later. A memorial tablet in the church bears eloquent testimony to his exalted character and the high place he had won in the affection of the people of Williamsburg in so short a time.

During colonial times Bruton was the only church in Williamsburg, hence it opened its doors to all comers and served, perforce, as the community church. With the advent of other denominations, during the early years of the nineteenth century, this tradition of community service appears to have been continued, through the occasional use of Bruton's historic church building by other ministers than its own.

This situation was recognized by the first order, dated 10th November, 1827, in Bruton's modern vestry book, started at the revival of parish activity in that year, upon the election of a new vestry. This order provides "that if the Church be opened during the week, for the use of any other Sect than the Episcopalian, the Sexton be allowed the Compensation of not more than one dollar per diem . . . to be paid by the Sect making application for the use of the Church."

Bruton's next rector, the Reverend Adam Empie, D. D., who took charge in 1827, insisted on his right to control the use of the church building, regardless of tradition, and thus brought the issue to a legal settlement. Following Dr. Empie's refusal to grant the use of the church to the Reverend J. B. Dods, a Universalist minister, thus obliging him to preach in the Court-house instead, Mr. Robert Anderson, an influential citizen of Williamsburg, petitioned the General Assembly in 1831 "that Bruton Church be used as formerly (since Mr. Bracken's death in 1818) by all sects and not exclusively by Episcopalians." This petition was rejected and the Bruton vestry was awarded a legal right to the church property.

The attainment of exclusive ownership of their church building did not detract from the Bruton vestry's desire to maintain Episcopal services on the broadest possible community basis, as is evident from their stand in defense of non-communicants' rights, in 1836. In that year a new constitution for the diocese was adopted, which required

that every lay delegate from a parish must "be a communicant of good standing in the Church." Bruton's vestry took the stand that this provision unjustly disfranchised the non-communicants, who formed the great majority of Bruton's congregation and who had enjoyed voting rights ever since the incorporation of the American church, half a century earlier. The vestry, therefore, refused to adhere to this constitution and sent no representatives to council for the next six years. This change, which seems desirable and proper to a modern churchman, was branded by the vestry of that day as tending toward "the most grinding religious tyranny that ever disgraced the annals of the church."

With the improvement of the parish finances, the vestry in 1837 undertook the repair of their long-neglected and dilapidated church building. Unfortunately, the spirit of change which was then prevalent and had caused the destructive alteration or demolition of other fine colonial churches, influenced Bruton's congregation to extend the contemplated repairs to include the complete remodelling of their historic church building, under the guise of modernization. The process of altering the church's colonial appearance was begun in 1829, when the high box pews were cut down and painted another color. Another departure from earlier form, the replacement of the disfiguring outside access to the organ gallery, by a stair inside the church, in 1834, was not a change to be regretted.

Dr. Empie was succeeded in 1837 by the Reverend William Hodges, D. D., under whom the destruction of Bruton Church's beautiful colonial interior was completed. A committee was placed in charge of the remodelling, and it was ordered that "all the interior of the church, not necessary for present use, be sold." This order evidently referred to the discarded interior woodwork from the old pews, pulpit and galleries, torn out in the course of the sweeping alteration contemplated.

The principal purpose of the change was to provide a Sunday-school room and this object was attained, in 1837, by partitioning off the western part of the nave with a wall placed just short of the first window west of the transept. The chancel, with its communion table and rail, was then placed against this partition, and a new high pulpit, of the type then in favor, was erected in front of it. The colonial pews and the stone pavement of the aisles and chancel were then removed and all the galleries were taken down, with the exception of the organ loft. The remains of the old organ had been sold in 1835, and a modern organ was now installed in its place. The obliteration of the colonial appearance of the church was completed by converting the tower room, once its main entrance vestibule, into a storage space for coal.

Thus shorn of its ancient beauty, the historic Bruton Church con-

tinued its service under the Reverend Henry M. Denison (1848-52) and the Reverend George T. Wilmer, D. D. (1856-59), until this service was interrupted by the Civil War, during a part of which the church building was used as a hospital. A well-grounded fear, that the Federal commander would require the use of the prayer for the President of the United States, effectively deterred Bruton's congregation of loyal Confederates from attempting services in the church itself. They, therefore, "went underground," in modern parlance, and held services in the basement of the residence occupied by their Civil War rector, the Reverend Thomas M. Ambler, who served until 1872.³⁴ The parish was successively served, in modern times, by the following rectors: Reverend Jacquelin Meredith, 1876-77; Reverend Henry Wall, 1877-80; Reverend Alexander Overby, 1880-85; Reverend F. G. Burch, 1885-87; Reverend L. B. Wharton, 1888; Reverend Thomas Carter Page, 1889-93; Reverend William T. Roberts, 1894-1902; Reverend W. A. R. Goodwin, D. D., 1902-09 (first ministry); Reverend E. Ruffin Jones, D. D., 1909-26; Reverend W. A. R. Goodwin, 1926-38 (second ministry), and Reverend Francis H. Craighill, Jr., from 1938 to the present.

In 1886 the interior of the church, as remodelled nearly half a century earlier, had to be extensively repaired and, at this time, new chancel furniture was installed. No further repairs of major importance were required until 1899, when the rector of Bruton, the Reverend William T. Roberts, undertook to raise money toward the complete reconditioning of the church structure. A residence on a lot adjoining the churchyard was bought and fitted up as a parish house, to provide a place for the continuance of services during the work on the church building.

Upon the advent of the Reverend W. A. R. Goodwin, in 1903, for his first rectorate at Bruton, the project for the repair of the church assumed a much wider scope, when the vestry undertook, with the congregation's approval, "to restore Bruton Church to its original form." Under Dr. Goodwin's inspiring leadership and with funds largely raised through his efforts, the historic building was carefully restored to its colonial arrangement, as determined by a thorough architectural survey and historical research, and with especial attention to permanence and safety from fire.

The actual work of reconstruction was inaugurated by a service on May 14, 1905, at which the Reverend Beverley D. Tucker, D. D., then rector of St. Paul's Church, Norfolk, but later the much-loved bishop of the diocese, preached an eloquent sermon on the continuity of the Church's life.

³⁴*Diary of Miss Harriette Cary, 1862*, at Research Dept., Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

The great undertaking was near enough to completion by the 20th of December, 1906, to permit the celebration in the restored church, on that date, of the tercentennial of the departure from London of the first colonists who landed at Jamestown, on the 16th May, 1607. On the Sunday nearest to the tercentennial date of the landing itself, May 12, 1907, the historic church was consecrated, for the first time in its long history, although it had been hallowed by two centuries of sacred use. The sentence of consecration was pronounced by Bishop A. M. Randolph of the diocese of Southern Virginia, who pronounced the old church "the noblest monument of religion in America."

Later in the same year, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, meeting in Richmond, attended Bruton Church in a body, to witness the presentation of a large Bible, the gift of King Edward VII of England, by the bishop of London.³⁵ This had especial significance as the first recorded visitation of one of the bishops of London to any of the American churches that were so long under their jurisdiction, and the gift was fittingly received by the presiding bishop of the Episcopal church of the United States.³⁶

Following the successful consummation of his great work, Dr. Goodwin left the parish in 1909 and was succeeded by the Reverend E. Ruffin Jones, D. D., who served Bruton ably and faithfully for the next seventeen years.

After the return of Dr. Goodwin in 1926, to begin his second rectorate at Bruton, the renewed beauty and dignity of the historic parish church was given its appropriate setting, through the realization of its rector's dream of the restoration of the colonial city of Williamsburg. An important addition to the parish facilities was made through the purchase of the Wythe House, an adjoining eighteenth-century mansion, by the vestry, and its conversion into a parish house.

Through his work as advisor to the Restoration authorities, Dr. Goodwin became keenly conscious of the great advance in our knowledge of the colonial church which had been made, through research for the great project, and he was the first to recognize that a more complete and perfect restoration of Bruton Church was desirable. He, therefore, began to solicit contributions toward the cost of such a restoration, as a congregational undertaking and without reference to the current restoration of the city itself.

The new plan received the active support of vestry and congregation and, through Dr. Goodwin's efforts, enough funds to commence

³⁵The Rt. Rev. Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram, bishop of London from 1901 until his resignation in 1939.

³⁶The Rt. Rev. Daniel S. Tuttle (1837-1923) was presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church from 1903 to 1923.

the work were raised, to the amount of nearly \$50,000, of which Mrs. Arthur Kelly Evans gave \$15,500 and Mrs. Truxtun Beale, \$7,000. When it later appeared that the estimated cost would be greatly exceeded, the Restoration authorities made a thorough architectural study of the church building. As this study revealed the need of a more extensive reconstruction than had been contemplated, they graciously offered to restore completely both the exterior and the interior of the church, without further cost to the parish. In the words of Dr. Goodwin's own account of his final undertaking, "the acceptance by the vestry of this generous proposal insured a substantial, complete, authentic and beautiful restoration of the building."⁸⁷

As the first step in carrying out the project, the Wythe House was sold to the Restoration for reconversion to its colonial appearance, as a part of the general scheme for the city's restoration. To take its place, there was then erected on Duke of Gloucester Street, not far from the church, a handsome new parish house of colonial design, in which services were held for over a year, while the church was being reconditioned.

As the result of advancing age and failing strength, which had long been overtaxed by the double burden of his parish work and restoration activities, Dr. Goodwin resigned the rectorship late in 1937, but continued to officiate in the church until the arrival of his successor, the Reverend Francis H. Craighill, Jr., in November, 1938.

Following his retirement, despite his failing health, Dr. Goodwin worked successfully toward the endowment and further adornment of the church building. He died just before the completion of its final restoration and was buried in the aisle, near the pulpit he had so ably filled for nearly twenty years, leaving the restored church and city as enduring monuments to his vision and power of accomplishment.

Safely preserved within the now thoroughly fireproofed church building and its modern basement vault are the parish's priceless treasures. They include three sets of colonial communion silver. The oldest, dated 1661, was the gift of Governor Francis Morrison to Jamestown Church; the second, of 1686, was given in 1783 to William and Mary College, in memory of Gov. Gooch's son, by the boy's grandmother; and the third was given to Bruton in 1766 by King George III.

Two of the parish's old prayer books bear the impress of historical events, the first having the prayer for the President of the United States pasted over the one for the King of England, and the words "Ruler of the Universe" interlined in place of "King of Kings," both changes revealing its pre-Revolutionary date. The other, of lesser age, has the words "Governor of Virginia" substituted for "the President

⁸⁷Goodwin, *Record of Bruton Church*, 172.

of the United States" in the prayer above-mentioned, with the date April 17, 1861, in the margin. The church's font is traditionally the one used at Jamestown Church from the earliest times.

During the great war just ended, as well as in the previous one, Bruton Parish has extended its traditional community field to embrace the greater community formed by the many military establishments surrounding Williamsburg. This means that hundreds of young men and women from all parts of the nation have had an opportunity to be influenced by the simple dignity and beauty of the services held in Bruton's historic church and to be inspired by the sincerity and power of the message from its pulpit. That this great work, in each case, should have been facilitated by a fresh restoration of the church building, still further justifies the expense of those great undertakings, which have sufficiently proved their worth by granting that noble edifice prospective centuries of consecrated usefulness to humanity.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN ARIZONA

*By James Rockwood Jenkins**

The actual beginnings of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Arizona are somewhat obscured by the mists of uncertainty and inadequate information, but it is hoped that the story of those early days here presented may throw some light on an interesting period of Church history and prepare the way for a more complete narrative in the days to come.

The twenty-sixth General Convention of our Church, which met in Richmond, Virginia, in October, 1859, set apart "The Great Northwest Diocese," which contained nine Territories: Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona—just short of one million square miles in area. Over this vast jurisdiction the Convention elected the Rev. Joseph C. Talbot (1816-1883), of Indianapolis, as bishop, and he was consecrated on February 15, 1860. How much of this stupendous district Bishop Talbot actually visited is among the uncertainties of our story. It is, however, quite evident that he never so much as crossed the borders of Arizona. Fortunately, the Convention of 1865, meeting in Philadelphia, broke up this Northwest Diocese and re-grouped the territories involved. Three years later Arizona and Nevada were united, and the Rev. Ozi William Whitaker (1830-1911)** was elected bishop. He was consecrated October 13, 1869. In 1874 he reported:

"During the past year I have made a thorough visitation of Arizona. We have there no clergy and very few communicants, and the openings for Church work are few; but with the building of the Southern Pacific Railroad Arizona will become an important missionary field."

At the General Convention of 1874 Arizona and New Mexico were constituted a missionary district. The Rev. William Forbes Adams (1833-1920), a native of Ireland, and rector of St. Paul's Church, New Orleans, Louisiana, was elected missionary bishop and consecrated on January 17, 1875.

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**After Arizona was detached from Nevada in 1874, Bishop Whitaker exercised jurisdiction in the latter district until 1886, when he became the bishop coadjutor of Pennsylvania. In 1887 he became the fifth diocesan of Pennsylvania until his death in 1911.

His missionary episcopate was brief as he was not able to stand the fatigue of the long journeys. Accompanied by the Rev. Henry Forrester he arrived at Santa Fe on February 6, 1875, and at Albuquerque on March 4. In the latter place he officiated in a room at the Exchange Hotel to a congregation of nine and ordained to the restricted diaconate Judge H. S. Johnson, of New Mexico. Leaving Silver City he headed for Tucson in Arizona, a distance of two hundred miles, the only means of conveyance being a buckboard. Overtaken by illness he was obliged to return without reaching Arizona. At the General Convention of 1877 his resignation was accepted and ten years later he became the second bishop of Easton, Maryland, where he died on March 5, 1920.

The Rev. David B. Knickerbacker, of Minnesota, was then elected for Arizona and New Mexico, but declined his election. In 1878 the presiding bishop, Benjamin Bosworth Smith, placed the jurisdiction in the charge temporarily of John Franklin Spalding, missionary bishop of Colorado. He visited several stations in New Mexico, but apparently did not reach Arizona.

However, on May 1, 1880, he appointed the Rev. William H. Hill, of California, as missionary in Tucson, and ordered him also to visit Tombstone, which even at that time was a flourishing and wide-awake mining camp. The bishop also tried to find a man to go to Prescott, the capital of the territory, but finding nobody, he asked Mr. Hill to take over also that mountain town. Later the bishop reported that Mr. Hill had found twenty communicants in Tucson and about the same number in Tombstone and in Prescott. It is to be presumed that Mr. Hill held some kind of services in these places at that time, but there seems to be no record of such services or mention of them in the journal of convocation of the district. If he did have services, then they must have been the first in all those stations, and if he did not, then the honor goes to Bishop Dunlop a year later, as we shall see. Bishop Spalding had already issued a call for a convocation of delegates from New Mexico and Arizona to meet in Albuquerque, New Mexico, at St. John's Church, on May 4, 1880, and in response three clergymen and ten laymen, all from New Mexico, were present. This convocation at once memorialized General Convention to appoint at their next meeting in October a regular bishop for the jurisdiction, and this request was granted readily. So it was that the Rev. George Kelly Dunlop (1830-1888), rector of Grace Church, Kirkwood, Missouri, a native of County Tyrone, Ireland, was duly elected bishop and was consecrated in Christ Church, St. Louis, on November 21, 1880.

New life and activity began at once in the two territories, as the

new bishop visited nearly all the existing stations in New Mexico, although he did not reach Arizona until the following March (1881). His first visit in this territory was in Tombstone, where he found most encouraging conditions, for the Church people in that soon-to-become famous community had already subscribed \$1,000.00 for a church and \$800.00 towards the support of a minister. He then went to Tucson, where he "was most cordially received, and was encouraged by large congregations and most liberal offerings." However, "it was deemed best not to commence active operations until after the hot weather." The bishop next visited Phoenix, which he found to be a growing town in the Salt River Valley. He could find only a few Church people there, but he realized that the place had a future with the certainty of growth, and that when the proper time should arrive, they must take advantage of it. He little dreamed that within two generations this little picturesque desert town would have a metropolitan population well over a hundred thousand! Again there is no record of any service at this visit for he made no mention of one in his annual address, but it seems only reasonably to suppose that he did have one, which would have been the first service in the history of Phoenix, as far as our Church is concerned.

It was getting pretty hot in the valley, so he decided to go next to the capital city, Prescott, high in the mountains and a hundred and ten miles from Phoenix, by stage. Quoting from his journal, "In this delightful town I received much courtesy from the officers and their families stationed at Fort Whipple (a few miles away). I held services morning and evening, and administered the Holy Communion to a large number of persons. A liberal offering was made for the work in Arizona." From Prescott he made his way, not too easily, to another mountain town, the mining camp of "Globe City." This was only seventy miles from Prescott "as the crow flies," but it meant a real missionary journey of 300 miles, only twenty by railroad and the rest by stage and horse-back. There he held two services with large congregations of interested people. As he was soon to find out, the largest attendance and often the greatest expression of interest were in these mining camps. However, while he realized the opportunities in Phoenix, Prescott and Globe, he did not think the time had come for settling ministers in these places. On this same journey Bishop Dunlop visited Fort Thomas in the heart of the notorious Apache country and also Fort Grant, not far to the south at the foot of the Graham Mountains, and within reach of the Southern Pacific Railway. At both these army posts he was most cordially received, as he ministered to the isolated people, preaching, baptizing, and performing marriage

ceremonies. It was a long and strenuous, not to say perilous journey, the first of many such that he was to experience in the days to come.

The second convocation of this new jurisdiction, although Bishop Dunlop's first, was held in Albuquerque on July 12-13, 1881. Again nobody was present from Arizona. But during the following year a greater degree of progress was to be manifested in this more western territory. It was the interesting and already widely-known mining camp of Tombstone that set the pace with characteristic zeal. It was, however, the personality and devotion of its first settled missionary that inspired this zeal and directed it along wise and wholesome channels. He who organized the congregation and built the church was not an experienced shepherd of souls, nor was he a product of the western plains or mountains; he was not even an ordained clergyman. He was a refined young gentleman from the centre of culture of New England, Boston, a recent graduate of the University of Cambridge, England, Mr. Endicott Peabody. In a very few years he would be known as "Peabody of Groton," and for half a century would be a leader in modern education.

Peabody was at the time a candidate for holy orders in the diocese of Massachusetts, and had just completed three months of his first year in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge. A prominent mining man from the east, who was in charge of one of the Tombstone mines, had heard about the young theolog and wrote to see if he would consider coming to Tombstone to take charge of the congregation whose very temporary minister had suddenly left after two months of unsuccessful work among them. Now Peabody had heard graphic descriptions of the camp and its peculiar characteristics and felt keenly interested in the invitation he had received; in fact, it stood before him as a direct challenge. He replied promptly that he would accept for six months, even though it interrupted his scholastic course. He went, arriving in Tombstone in January, 1882. Very soon this tall, well-built, athletic young gentleman, with a most pleasing manner and likeable disposition, proved himself to be a man of God and a friend of the people. The citizens of the camp, even in those wide-open, free-and-easy days of the "Eighties," were not all ruffians or outlaws, although there were plenty such; nor were they all cowboys, or even miners. There was a fair share of every-day, law-abiding "folks," attending to their business, and many of them, including some of the baser sort, glad to attend the Church services which were being held in the county courthouse. A church building had already been more or less planned, and now its adobe walls would soon arise. The young "parson" from the east had his visions, which would be realized

in due time. The church would be furnished in black-walnut, quite in the churchly style that prevailed at home. There would be an organ which would have to be "packed" across the continent, and he knew there would be those in his congregation who could play it and provide good Church music. Singers, too, would not be wanting.

During the six months while the church was being built, the young man lived among his people, organizing baseball games for the men, which proved to be a civilizing process and undoubtedly kept many of the rougher sort from straying too far afield or indulging in too frequent excesses. While he did not play himself,—his own particular penchant being for water sports, especially rowing, yet he did umpire the games and in a general way sponsor and direct them. Doubtless the umpiring required some heroism, but he was equal to it; in fact, just to live in Tombstone in those days called for no little courage, with guns banging and bullets flying around, at times uncomfortably near! But Peabody was unafraid and his fine influence was felt on all sides. His services in the courthouse were well attended, the majority in his congregation being men, as has often been the case in Arizona mining camps.

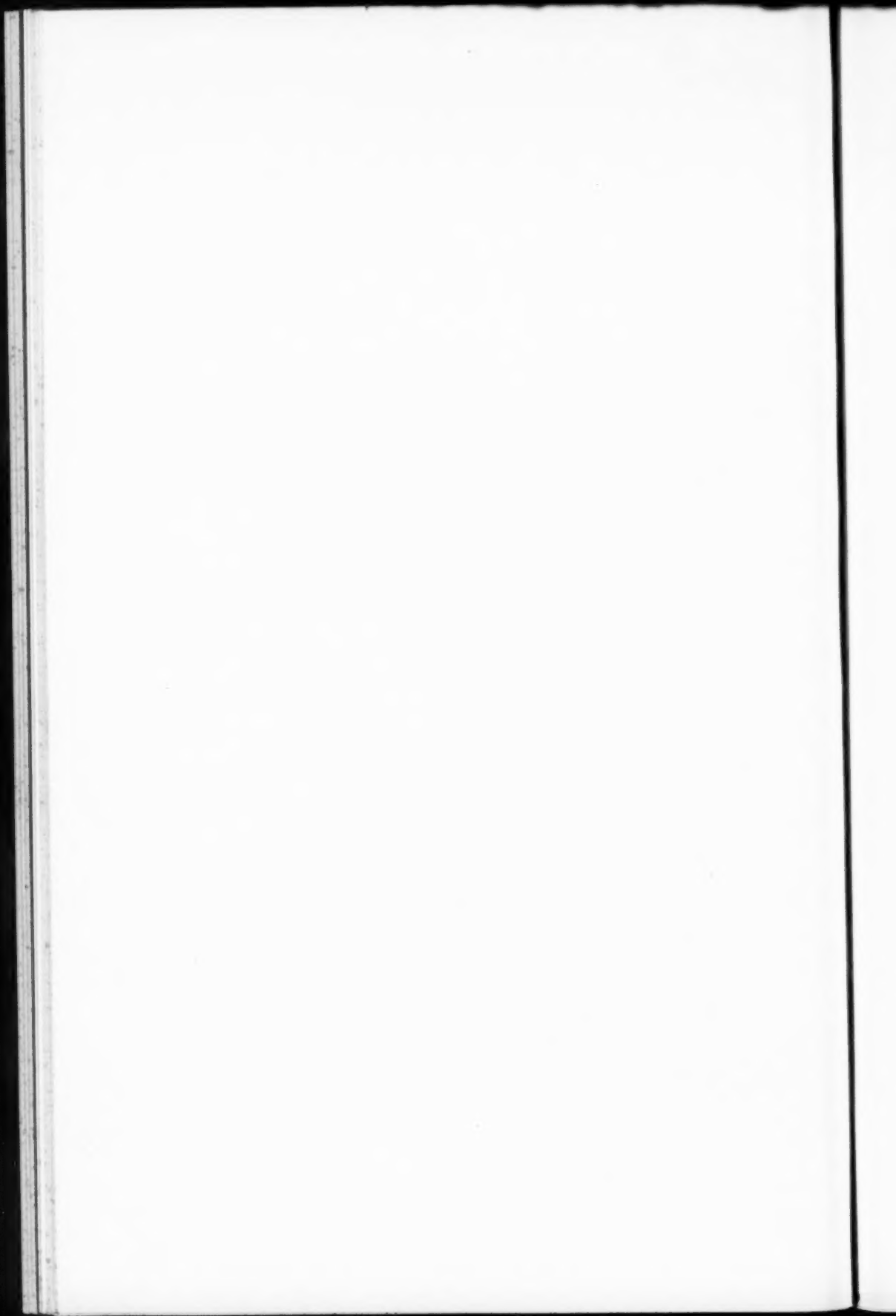
Meantime a small house was purchased for a rectory, although it was far from being adequate or comfortable. And all the time the rising of the church walls and the finishing of the interior and the final placing of the handsome furniture, were a silent witness to the upward trends in the life of the people. It was not until June, 1882, that the building was ready, and young Peabody could rejoice with his congregation in its use. But not for long for him, for his six months would all too soon be over and the time would come for his return to his eastern home to continue his theological education. And these six months would prove to have been an invaluable part of his education, such as few clergymen of the Church could ever experience. In July Peabody parted from his devoted people, with keen regrets on their part as well as on his own. His successor had been chosen, the Rev. Isaac T. Bagnall, deacon, who was expected in October. This church, "St. Paul's, Tombstone," was the very first Episcopal church in Arizona; it still stands and has been in continuous use all these years.

Immediately following the completion of the Tombstone church, the annual convocation of the district was held in Santa Fe on June 20th and 21st, 1882. Bishop Dunlop made a most encouraging report of Tombstone, but not so encouraging was his report of other places in Arizona. Tucson seemed to have worried him most of any place, for although he had made four visits to that important town during the year just passed, yet conditions were not at all to his satisfaction, and he

Episcopal Church Tombstone. Ariz.
built 1881



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, TOMBSTONE
The First Episcopal Church in Arizona



felt that this was due largely to the fact that during the immediately preceding years the Church had been neglected and had not been able to keep up with the growth of the population. But there was a brighter side. The great need was for a regular settled minister, and this need would soon be met by the expected arrival in the following fall of the Rev. C. J. Hendley, of Wisconsin. This was indeed encouraging, and another hopeful sign was the raising of \$600.00 by the ladies of the congregation to go towards a building fund. Turning now to Phoenix, nothing of importance had been done, while at Prescott services had been kept up by a layman, Col. Hodges of Whipple,—“to the great comfort of the little flock.”

The fall of 1882 was spent in New Mexico, but during the winter, on February 10th, 1883, Bishop Dunlop visited Tombstone to consecrate the new church. In his convocation address, six months later, he referred to it as “the first church, set apart for the worship of Almighty God, in this Jurisdiction. It is of adobe, but exceedingly well built, and pretty of its kind. It has a porch, chancel and vestry room, seats comfortably 150 persons, and cost \$5,000.00.” The day following the consecration of the church, the bishop ordained Mr. Bagnall to the priesthood. He was presented by the Rev. C. J. Hendley, of Tucson. Immediately the bishop and Mr. Bagnall set out on a “missionary journey” to the great copper camp of Bisbee, fifty miles away by stage. This camp was the site of the now celebrated “Copper Queen” mine. There they held a service, but it is not recorded in what building or on what actual date. We do know that Mr. Bagnall read the service and that the bishop “preached to a very attentive and earnest congregation.” We have no further information as to this event, or of what came from it. Mr. Bagnall returned at once to Tombstone and Bishop Dunlop pushed on to Tucson. Here he found that conditions had very much improved under Mr. Hendley’s guidance, for he had been steadily at work for the past nine months. This “city” of 10,000 inhabitants the bishop regarded as in some respects the most difficult, and yet important place in the jurisdiction. Several denominations had made a long start before our people began (how familiar that sounds) and had ministers on the ground, and places to meet in. However, a good lot had been bought by our congregation a couple of months before, and there were fair hopes that with liberal gifts from the East a church would be erected.

Convocation that year, 1883, was held on June 6th and 7th, at Albuquerque, and for the first time Arizona was represented, both Mr. Bagnall and Mr. Hendley being present.

For the next few years, 1884-1885, no great progress was reported for Arizona. Tombstone had exchanged its little shack of a

rectory for a larger and more comfortable house. Tucson had been badly hit by a "depression," and yet the ladies of the congregation had managed to increase the building fund. Phoenix had purchased two lots and had begun to raise funds for a church. Several new places had been visited by the bishop, notably Flagstaff, Holbrook,—both on the line of the Santa Fe Railroad—and Fort Huachuca and Nogales on the Mexican border.

Let us follow the developments in Phoenix, soon to become the capital and the largest city in the state. In 1887 Bishop Dunlop appointed a leading dentist, Dr. R. W. Pearson, to be a lay reader in charge of the Phoenix congregation. He was already a candidate for holy orders and very active in his devotion to the Church. Plans were soon completed for laying the corner stone of a church. But, most unfortunately, that faithful servant of the Lord and devoted missionary, Bishop Dunlop, was taken sick the following winter, and died on March 12th, 1888. The presiding bishop of the Church, the Rt. Rev. John Williams, appointed Bishop Spalding of Colorado to take temporary charge once more, and by his authority the Rev. James A. M. La Tourette, president of the standing committee of Colorado, was delegated to lay the cornerstone of the new Phoenix church on Trinity Sunday of that year (1888). He reported that an inspiring service had been held, with a large congregation. This fine brick church was completed, and the first service held, on the first Sunday in January, 1889. A large congregation, which included many of the influential people of the town, was present. Dr. Pearson had done an excellent constructive work, having built up a fine Sunday School and other progressive organizations. He was decidedly missionary-minded and had held services in nearby Tempe, the seat of a state normal school, and also in Tucson, and even in far-away Tombstone, whose minister, Mr. Bagnall, had gone. All this work he had done as lay reader, but he was soon to receive holy orders. This was to be by the hands of the Rt. Rev. John Mills Kendrick (1836-1911), who had been consecrated as bishop of New Mexico and Arizona in Trinity Church, Columbus, Ohio, on January 18th of that same year, 1889. It was within a few weeks of Bishop Kendrick's arrival that he ordained Dr. Pearson as deacon, and not long afterward as priest.

From Phoenix the new bishop went to Tucson for a week's visit, to be followed soon by another. At this latter visit he laid the corner stone of "Grace Church," on April 30, on a site that had been selected by Bishop Dunlop. Dr. Pearson of Phoenix was present, as was also the Rev. Thomas W. Haskins of California, who made the address. Dr. Pearson was appointed temporarily in charge of the church. The

bishop expressed his conviction that there were more Episcopalians "of some sort of affiliation" in Tucson than members of any other Protestant body, and he commended very highly the devotion and patience of our Church people, who during long years of waiting had never lost interest or hope. His visit did indeed inspire new courage and zeal in the congregation. Continuing his journey, Bishop Kendrick visited several of the towns and camps where work had been begun, and in some where nothing definite had so far been attempted. Globe especially interested him, for there he found ten communicants and twelve other Episcopalians. They all were eager to have regular services and the bishop promised to do his best to provide someone to conduct them. The difficulty lay in the practical isolation of this camp, so far from any railroad. From the southern edge of the state a layman, and candidate for holy orders, Mr. T. J. Glyn, who had been helping at Tombstone, reported a visit to Nogales on the Mexican border. Here he had found several communicants, who had asked him to come regularly, and said that they could provide fifteen to twenty dollars a month for his support.

The coming of Bishop Kendrick opened up a new and rapidly advancing period of development for the whole district; in fact, it ushered in a new epoch for this region. Bishop Kendrick died December 16, 1911. His successor as second missionary bishop of Arizona* was the Rt. Rev. Julius Walter Atwood, who developed the tuberculosis work. He resigned in 1925 and died twenty years later. On January 5, 1926, the Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell was consecrated. He retired in 1945. The present bishop is the Rt. Rev. Arthur B. Kinsolving, II.

According to the last available returns (1944) Arizona reports 35 clergy and 3,516 communicants. The little one has become a thousand.

*Arizona was set off from New Mexico as a separate missionary district in 1892. Bishop Kendrick was the third missionary bishop of New Mexico and Arizona; the first of Arizona.

TWO LETTERS FROM BISHOP KEMPER

*James Arthur Muller**

Last spring Mr. Virginius Chase, of Peoria Heights, Illinois, a descendant of Bishop Chase, loaned me his large collection of Chase letters. Among them were several from Bishop Kemper. These were for the most part inquiries and replies about clergy and reports of Kemper's visitations in Chase's diocese. But there were two which were so characteristic and expressive of Kemper's character and views that they ought not to remain in oblivion.

I

Kemper was elected our first missionary bishop in 1835 and his salary of \$2,000 was paid by the Board of Missions. In the same year a handful of clergy and laity elected Chase bishop of Illinois. When Chase went east to the General Convention, Dr. Tyng of the Board of Missions, acknowledging that conditions in Illinois were essentially missionary, said the Board might do something for him. Since Kemper's salary was the only bishop's salary the Board was then paying, Chase naturally referred to that in his reply, saying that he would be satisfied with the half of Kemper's salary. Two years later Chase, who had a talent, if not a genius, for advertising his work through the printed word, was writing to the Church papers describing Illinois as virtually a missionary diocese, regretting his inability to come East and enlist the services of young men still in the seminaries, and mentioning the fact that altho he had been promised by the Board of Missions half the amount of Bishop Kemper's salary he had only received this for one year when the Board discovered that its rules forbade paying anything to one not in its direct employ. He evidently did not realize that a reference to Kemper's salary in print might have connotations quite different from such a reference in a conversation. On reading this Kemper wrote the following to Chase:

*This is the last contribution of Dr. Muller.

St. Louis, Mo
28 May 1838

Rt. Rev. and dear Sir,

Permit me to direct your attention to the following extract from a public letter of yours to Dr. Tyng dated 3 Aug./37: "I replied that half of Bishop Kemper's salary would suffice me, and that I would take no more even though it were granted; etc." Now, I most sincerely assure you I regret that any circumstance should occur to limit your resources or to place you in embarrassed circumstances. But why in a correspondence upon the subject should my name be used? The station I now hold I neither expected nor sought for. I accepted it because in the sight of God I dared not to say, No. And if you will be the instrument of releasing me from it and of permitting me to return to the bosom of my family you will receive the most unfeigned thanks of my children and myself. What can the Church infer from your expression but that I am receiving double the salary my necessities require? Had you, during your visit to this City, sought for information upon the subject, you would soon have been convinced, that were my family here, it would demand the exercise of constant economy to live upon the \$2000 the Board of Missions voted to me. And how then could I have travelled? Not a cent of money have I received from the people during all my journeys north of the Ohio river. I shall go to the General Convention a poorer man than I was at the time of my consecration. If I have been enabled to help a suffering brother or to increase the comfort of a clerical family it has been in consequence of the kindness and generosity of my inestimable mother-in-law. I have thus far (I speak as a fool) thrown myself without reserve, with all my limited energies and resources, into the cause of the Church in the West—the whole, the mighty West—and no man can accuse me of sectional feelings.

Another of your letters, that of 10th of last August alludes to me, I fear. If it does, I regret for your sake as well as mine the following expression: "I am told, from good authority, that the young men preparing for the ministry are visited personally, and those who would be likely to turn their attention to the Missionary work are made to pledge themselves to go to certain places, etc." I have been assured by both Bishops McIlvaine and McCoskry that altho' they were in New York last summer neither of them visited the students at the Theo. Semy. Now I acknowledge that since I have been a Missionary Bishop of the Church I have improved every opportunity of addressing those young men—I have urged upon them with all the energy I possess the claims and the wants of the West—and have stated in the plainest terms the mortifications and difficulties to which they would be exposed. Last April a year ago I went expressly to the East for this object. And so great do I consider the necessities of this immense valley and so much do we suffer from delay, that I would start at any time

for Maine or Florida to secure two good Missionaries. And what has been the result of all my efforts upon this subject? I have not now, and I believe I never have had within my Mission, one clergyman who was influenced by the appeals I made at the Seminary. On the contrary I have reason to believe I checked by the plainness of my speech the inclinations of many. But I have not yet come to the point—"*made to pledge themselves to go to certain places.*" As I have said already, I went for the whole West, I exhibited no local feeling—and I believe I never made a speech at that Institution without dwelling as much upon the situation of Illinois as I did upon that of Indiana and Missouri. Having addressed the students publicly I left it to them to seek me out. And altho' one or two did *offer*, particularly for our Christian Institute which we hope to establish in the neighbourhood of this City, *not one has come.* And now I scarcely look to that Seminary for aid; and I believe our reliance must be placed almost exclusively upon those clergymen who have been in the ministry a few years, and who have families to support. I deny then the assertion, and respectfully ask the name or names of the "good authority" upon which it was made.

The fact is my dear Bishop I am deeply wounded by those two letters. You have injured me, and have done so I cannot but think without the slightest cause or provocation. While I had charge of your Diocese I exhibited and felt for it as much interest as if it were my own; and have always been ready as I am now to express all the respect and veneration which your age and services demand. I gave myself in all sincerity to the Cause of the Redeemer in this immense region—and the frowns or condemnation of any brother in the Episcopate was not even imagined as possible.

I am very truly yours,

JACKSON KEMPER

Bishop Chase

I have not seen Chase's reply. It may be among the Kemper letters in Wisconsin. But he must have apologized handsomely, for at the end of a letter from Kemper to Chase, July 25, 1838, after discussing several matters of business, Kemper, obviously referring to the above letter, says:

"I have written to you, my dear Bishop, with perfect frankness and in confidence, and I trust the assurance that I have done so will afford you satisfactory proof that the subjects to which your letter of the fifth instant referred are forgotten, and that there is a perfect restoration of all the kind regards and affection which I trust ever to cherish toward so venerable a brother."

II

On November 7, 1837, Elijah P. Lovejoy,¹ the anti-slavery editor, was murdered in Alton, Illinois. His younger brother, Owen Lovejoy,² who had assisted him, became friendly with the Rev. James De Pui, rector of St. Paul's Church, Afton. He had had a year at a theological seminary in the East, and began studying theology further under the direction of Mr. De Pui and assisting him as lay reader in the services at St. Paul's. He applied to Bishop Chase and was accepted as a

¹ELIJAH PARISH LOVEJOY (November 9, 1802-November 7, 1837) was born at Albion, Maine, the son of a Congregational minister, the Rev. Daniel Lovejoy, and Elizabeth (Pattee). He graduated from Waterville (now Colby) College in 1826. After teaching school and editing a Whig newspaper in St. Louis, Missouri, he returned East in 1832 to attend Princeton Seminary. In April, 1833, he was licensed to preach by the Philadelphia Presbytery, went West again, became editor of the *St. Louis Observer*, the Presbyterian weekly in the West, and enlisted "in the Presbyterian war against slavery, intemperance, and 'popery'." Mounting protests led him in 1836 to move to Alton, Illinois, twenty-five miles up the river.

Up to this time Lovejoy had been opposed to "abolition," i. e., the immediate emancipation of the slaves. But his removal to Alton marked a change in his views. He became a radical abolitionist, rebuked his own Church for refusing to espouse abolition, and began editing the *Alton Observer*. One press after another was destroyed by mobs. In November, 1837, sixty young abolitionists, armed, sought to protect a newly arrived press. On the night of November 7, 1837, when an armed mob, unable to capture the press, sought to burn the warehouse in which it was stored, Lovejoy rushed out to prevent it, and was shot dead. [See *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XI, pp. 434-435, for sketch and bibliography.]

²OWEN LOVEJOY (January 6, 1811-March 25, 1864) was reared in the same Congregational parsonage as his older brother, Elijah P. Lovejoy. He attended Bowdoin College from 1830 to 1833, but did not graduate. After teaching school and studying law, he joined his brother in Alton, Illinois. Owen shared his brother's anti-slavery views, and on the night of November 7, 1837, he knelt beside Elijah's dead body and vowed "never to forsake the cause that had been sprinkled with his brother's blood."

He renounced his former intention of entering the ministry of the Episcopal Church, and entered that of the Congregational Church instead. He served the latter Church in Princeton, Illinois, for seventeen years.

To advance the cause of abolition, Owen Lovejoy entered the state legislature, and in 1856 was elected to Congress. Although a radical, he early perceived the powers of leadership in Abraham Lincoln, compelled his fellow radicals to enlist under Lincoln's more conservative banner, and was Lincoln's loyal supporter until death.

Lovejoy was violent in his attacks on slavery and the South, but he defended Lincoln against William Lloyd Garrison, opposed Thaddeus Stevens' oppressive reconstruction program, and emulated Lincoln's magnanimous spirit in that matter. After Owen's death Lincoln wrote of him:

"My personal acquaintance with him . . . has been one of increasing respect and esteem, ending, with his life, in no less than affection on my part. . . . To the day of his death, it would scarcely wrong any other to say he was my most generous friend."

[See *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XI, pp. 435-436, for sketch and bibliography.]

candidate for the ministry; but Chase, apparently hearing that he shared his brother's anti-slavery views, hesitated to ordain him and wrote to Kemper for advice on the matter. This is Kemper's reply:

Indianapolis, Ind.
23^d June, 1838

Rt. Rev. & dear Sir,

The power is entirely in your own hands. You are responsible to our great and blessed Master for your acts. If you do not believe that Mr. Lovejoy will keep himself aloof from the agitating, civil questions of the day—that he will be moderate in all things, entirely devoted to the ministry, and ready in his intercourse with his fellow beings to exercise forbearance, kindness and charity—I advise you, ordain him not.

The subject of abolition is an exceedingly exciting one, and is necessarily connected with the politics of the country. The kingdom of the Redeemer is not of this world. We as his ministering servants have enough to do to teach men the principles by which they should be regulated and the duties which result from their various and sacred relations in life. If we go further and attempt to influence or control the operations of Government we shall do that for which we can plead the sanction neither of our Lord nor of his apostles.

If I may advise I would say, withdraw the demand you made upon Mr. L. for his signature to a paper—meet him in the presence of at least two of your presbyters and converse with him with all the frankness and affection which a Bishop and a father should exercise and feel upon such an occasion—and if you are satisfied that he is hasty, or intemperate, or imprudent, or reckless—that he prefers public excitement and notoriety to the sacred and retiring duty of winning souls by the meekness and gentleness of Christ—if he is not kind, humble, forbearing and heavenly-minded—ordain him not.

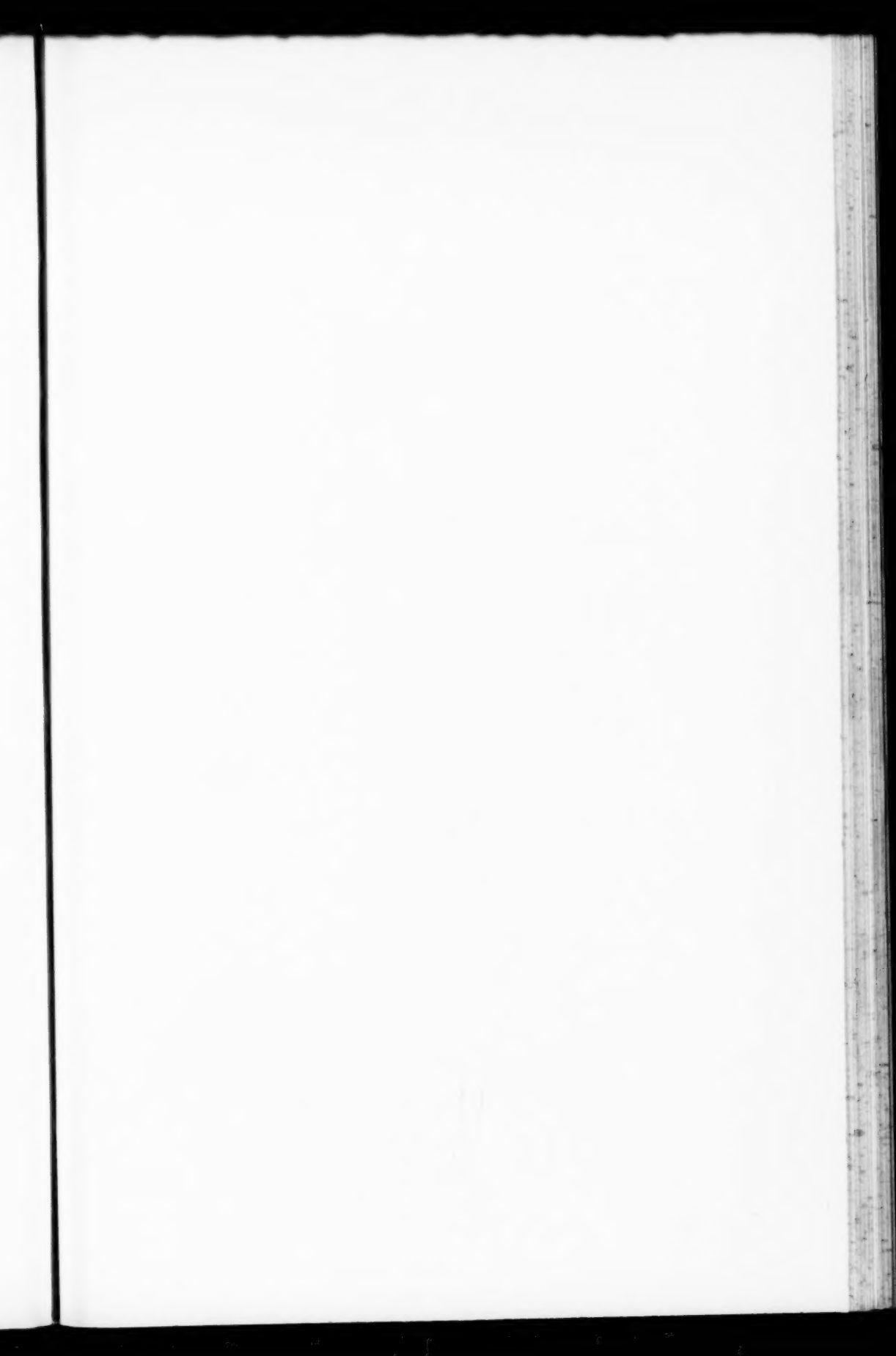
With great respect and affection,

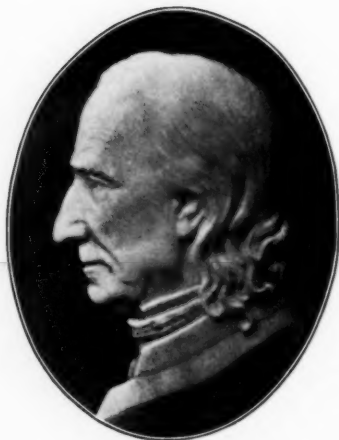
Very truly your brother in Christ,

JACKSON KEMPER

Rt. Rev. Philander Chase

Whether Chase accepted Kemper's advice about a personal conference with Lovejoy, I do not know, but on July 21, 1838, Lovejoy wrote to Chase: "Will Bishop Chase have the goodness to take my name from the list of candidates for holy orders?" His subsequent career as a Congregational minister and as a member of Congress and intrepid opponent of slavery are well known. Both Kemper and Chase were convinced that the abolition movement was essentially a political movement and that, therefore, the Church should be kept strictly aloof from it, as indeed from all other politics.





**THE REVEREND
THEODORE EDSON, D.D.**

August 24, 1793—June 25, 1883

**Ordained Deacon, September
11, 1823; Priest, March 16, 1825.**

**Rector of St. Anne's Church,
Lowell, Massachusetts, for al-
most sixty years.**

**His remarkable diaries totalled
eleven manuscript volumes
and 8,000 pages.**

THEODORE EDSON AND HIS DIARY

*By Frederick W. Coburn**

[*Editorial note.*—The Reverend Theodore Edson (August 24, 1793-June 25, 1883), the son of Benjamin and Deborah (Perkins) Edson of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, was prepared for Harvard at Phillips Academy, Andover. He entered college in 1818 as "President's freshman" under John Thornton Kirkland (1770-1840) who was president of Harvard from 1810 to 1828. While in college Edson served as lay reader in St. Matthew's Church, South Boston. On September 11, 1823, he was ordered deacon by Bishop Alexander V. Griswold of the Eastern Diocese, and was priested March 16, 1825. For almost sixty years he was rector of St. Anne's Church, Lowell, Massachusetts. As will be seen from this article he kept remarkable diaries running to eleven volume; and 8,000 pages.]

As a diarist Theodore Edson deserves to be ranked with Samuel Sewall and Jeremy Belknap. An American Pepys he can hardly be called—he was not naughty and malicious enough for that. He kept straightforward factual chronicles of his daily life, punctuated with frequent expressions of belief and opinion, for half a century or more.

This dutiful diarizing stood to Dr. Edson's credit during nearly all his years from youth until he was about 85 years old. During long periods he wrote voluminously every day. He thus left us an autobiography of a length and particularity such as few other human beings have ever penned. The eleven volumes of his diary, now a precious possession of the Lowell Historical Society, were estimated by the late Rev. Wilson Waters, D. D., historian of Saint Anne's Church, to contain not fewer than 8,000 pages, usually very closely written. These pages, for a guess, will average 1,000 words to a page, say eight million words (awaiting some Maecenas who might make it possible to publish them).

Whether through print or microfilm or some other mechanical process, the diaries ought to be made available to historians, clergymen, general readers in their entirety. Posterity should find in them as illuminating pictures of life in the middle 19th century as those that late eighteenth century. Many of the Edson entries are, naturally, of Judge Sewall has left us of the late 17th or Rev. William Bentley of the

*President of the Lowell Historical Society.

the routine of a parish priest who, especially as he grew older, became more and more strictly absorbed in his own parochial work. Yet the diaries are invaluable source material for the history of Lowell as well as of Saint Anne's Church; for the Episcopal Church of New England and the United States; and, to a lesser extent, for the political and social chronicles of this republic. Even when the comment is acrid and biased, as on some of the pages it is, the Edson diaries help to correct the vague nambypambyism of the school histories. To edit and print the 11 manuscript volumes would be a stupendous task. Yet, in the interest of American historianship it should be done.

What may be called Theodore Edson's pre-Lowell diary, of the months between Dec. 18, 1822, and March 6, 1824, has probably not been printed in toto. Here is no place to read it all, but some student of the psychology of young adulthood would find it interesting perusal. The journal starts with the young theological student, a patient in the Massachusetts General Hospital, where he had been for nearly five weeks. He was basically impatient. He wrote:

"Though composed and as I thought in some degree submissive at first I have during my residence here had a very violent struggle with my corrupt heart."

He was, however, pleased to note that his friends at Bridgewater, his native place, were anxious to have him there for a Church service on Christmas day and that the improvement in his health might make this possible. Two days later, however, he had to record:

"Friday 20th. There is little prospect of my being well enough to leave the hospital soon. Yet why should I repine at God's dealings?"

And on Christmas he wrote:

"Wednesday 25. Christmas Day. Though I am yet in the hospital and not in Bridgewater, yet I have abundant reason to bless the name of the Lord."

He actually was discharged on the 26th, returning to his lodgings and his studies at South Boston, where he performed service in St. Matthew's Church on Sunday, the 29th.

One of the notes of discouragement to which Dr. Edson was prone when his people did not respond to their privileges and duties as he thought they should, appears in his comment on the South Bostonians. He presently wrote:

"Jan. 20. Monday. Unfavorable weather has made our congregation small for three Sundays past. There is a lamentable want of zeal and stability in attending publick worship in the people of this place. Novelty, that 'bane of souls,' pleases, which in such a place as this turns the Sabbath from a day of devotion to a day of amusement. O my God, may this state of things be changed. May this people be led to see the importance of constantly attending some particular place of worship, and may an increasing zeal for the truth as it is in Jesus and attachment to order and regularity prevail. The children still come for tracts. May the number be increased and their souls benefited."

Evidently it was the younger generation in whom the youthful cleric based his hopes, for he also generalized:

"My attempts to perform the duties of my place have been as much blessed and more so than I had reason to expect. The children met me here on Sat. last and are to come tomorrow."

Young Mr. Edson's decision to marry and rear a family was expressed during his service at South Boston, even while he was presumably not yet in financial position to take unto himself a wife. Witnessing the happiness of married friends at Quincy, he wrote, quite naively, from their home:

"Thursday, (Jan. 29, 1823). I have been several days in this place at the house of my friend, Rev. Benjamin C. Cutler,¹ in whose family I find hospitality, friendship, intelligence and religion, and pass my time here very pleasantly. My health seems not improving.

"The happiness which I see in my friend's family and the innumerable advantages which it gives in addition to the comfort it adds to his life induce me to look upon the married state in a more favorable light than ever and to regard it as particularly desirable to the minister of the gospel in those circumstances which every man of tolerable prudence and discretion would deem obviously requisite. The trite observation that a man wants a wife to take care of him is indeed true in very many cases such as sickness and discouragements of various kinds. Besides nothing so centers one's affections and views, nothing so brings all his feelings to bear upon a point as having a family to employ his solicitude and to constitute his home. The man who feels himself a wanderer in the wide world may indeed exult in his freedom, but he cannot conceal

¹Rev. Benjamin Clark Cutler, rector of Christ Church, Quincy, Massachusetts.

an uneasiness, a wild lonely uneasiness, a weariness of selfish concern which all his boasted freedom can never counter-balance."

Having written this "page of very sensible observations upon the desirability of the married state," as they were called by our bachelor historian, the late Dr. Waters, Mr. Edson prepared himself to make a good choice of mate for a clergyman—specifically a bishop's daughter. About 22 months later, on Nov. 24, 1824, at Trinity Church, Boston, the wedding took place of Theodore Edson and Rebecca Jane, daughter of the late Right Rev. Samuel Parker (1744-1704), some time bishop of Massachusetts. By this date he was already in line to make his wife a leading lady of the then new manufacturing village at East Chelmsford, since March 1, 1826, known as Lowell, Massachusetts.

Some of the diary entries of Rev. Mr. Edson's first days at East Chelmsford were printed in combination with extracts from Kirk Boott's diary and other documents in Dr. Waters's centennial anniversary history of Saint Anne's Church. For historical and genealogical reasons the journal of Lowell's earliest years, though kept in a more abbreviated form than he later followed, should at some time be put into type. They show that Mr. Edson found his way around quickly in the community whose upbuilding was in Kirk Boott's hands. They give the names and bits of information concerning Lowell's first inhabitants. He was, of course, not unfamiliar with this neighborhood, for he had prepared for Harvard at Andover and he had taught for a term or two at Groton. He can hardly have expected, when he came here for his initial preaching in 1824, that he was beginning a ministry in one parish of more than 59 years. This is what he wrote regarding his advent at the place which is now Lowell:

"Saturday, March 6, 1824.—Came up to Chelmsford the first time for the purpose of supplying the people in the Merri-mack Manufacturing corporation with preaching and divine service. Rode up with Mr. Boot and was hospitably entertained at his house. Sunday preached."

The succinct record continues:

"Monday 8. Returned to Boston in stage.

"Saturday 13. Came up in the stage.

"Sunday 14. Preached. Staid through the week. Recd. an invitation from the people to become their minister."

The trips from and to Boston continued until near the end of the month when the diarist reported:

"Sunday 25. Preached in Trinity ch. Dr. Gardiner²
"Thursday 29. Came up to Chelmsford and took my lodgings at Mr. R. Hills."

After which staccato entries come several pages of the diary in which the young clergyman is revealed as most active and energetic in "selling," if we may use that modernistic word, the Church with a capital C to a community most of whose people were quite unused to its ritual. In 1824 the influx of British supervisors and factory operatives, which gave early Lowell an Anglican character, had hardly begun. Those among whom Mr. Edson started his ministry here were mostly New England Yankees. And did he at once canvass them—boarding house keepers, lodgers, farmers of old Chelmsford and old Dracut! Here are souvenirs of his first pastoral calls:

"Tuesday May 4, 1824. Called at Mr. Webber's. Mrs. W. and two daughters—all appear to be pious. The family from Littleton. Not acquainted with the Church, nor very partial to it. (Observe whether they attend worship.) Their boarder not much pleased with service, nor very attentive. Want a supply of prayer books. I am to call some evening.

"Called at Mr. Reed's. Saw Mrs. R. and two daughters, apparently pious. They seemed better affected toward the Church, and the boarders were said to attend.

"Called at Mrs. Morrill's. One if not two daughters. The family has lately come. Not many boarders yet. Mean to fill their house. Saw a prayer book.

"Called at Mrs. Currier's. She is well disposed, energetic woman. Boards men.

"Called at Mr. Burbank's. Mrs. B. in the last stage of consumption. (Call there soon to inquire.) There is a child.

"Called at Mr. Brown's. Mrs. B. a sociable, well disposed woman. Has a family of children. Would like to send them to the Sunday school. Her boarders are men.

"Called at Mrs. Balcom's. A true blood. One daughter who is a Baptist and not very well. A house full of boarders. Did not like Dr. Gardiner. Thinks every one should be allowed to set up their own way of worship. Speaks very well of forms.

"Called at Mr. Balch's. Mrs. B. and her mother both from Medway, Mr. Ives's parish. The mother objected to repeating in the confession. They kept a public house in Boston from which they came here. Mrs. B. has occasionally been at St. Paul's. Both Mrs. B. & the mother appear to be sensible women.

²Rev. John Sylvester Gardiner, sometime rector of Trinity Church, Boston, supplied my place at C.

"Called at Mrs. Lyon's. She from Boston with four children, two girls in the factory and two boys at school. A woman of more than common worth. Is a well wisher to the Church and has attended Mr. Eaton's in Boston.

"Called at Mr. Buzzell's. Mrs. B. a fine woman. Lost two children and is now childless. From Salisbury, and expect to return after this season. They have a prayer book and are interested. I am to drink tea there soon.

"Saturday 8. Walked in the morning with George Pollock.

"Called at Mr. Morrill's. Mrs. M. better. The Mr. Cheney to whom I was introduced a few Sundays ago is the res. Baptist minister of Brentford, N. H. I think that Mr. M. and Mrs. are decided baptists, and suspect they mean to be so at present.

"Called at Mr. Tyler's. Mrs. T. sociable and friendly. She says her family is the only one which was in the place before anything was done by the corporation. She attends church very constantly.

"Rev. Mr. Merrill of Dracut was acquainted with Mr. Morrill's and Mr. Worthen's families at Amesbury. He is probably thoroughly calvinistic."

Probably the earliest record of sociability at the Paul Moody house in Worthen street, known to our generation as the Whistler House, appears in this entry:

"Saturday 15 (May, '24). Called at Mr. Worthen's. Also called at Mr. Moody's where I saw Mrs. Morrill. Mrs. Moody asked me to call and take tea at any time. Think I shall accept the invitation. Have written two sermons this week."

It was not altogether easy to interest people to attend church even when an attractive young man was so assiduous in calling on them and urging them to do so. There was, however, a certain excuse for the absence of Mr. and Mrs. Boott, chief patrons of the church on the May day when Mr. Edson wrote as follows:

"Sunday 9 (May '24). Wrote the whole of two sermons since last Sunday, the like I never did before. Was mortified exceedingly this morning to see so few present. Neither Mr. Boot nor any of his family were there. I preached on 'Deliverance from the fear of death.' Afternoon on the education of children. Mr. Boot called. Had a son born at one o'clock today."

For about 11 years, between May, 1828, and Feb. 5, 1839, Mr. Edson kept no diary regularly. He then resumed with more voluminous entries than previously, and for some 40 years he was one of the most

faithful diarists of record. It cannot have been easy to write so much. His handwriting was not normally very good, though at one time he took lessons in calligraphy hoping to improve it. He was, of course, all the while composing his sermons and attending to an extensive correspondence. He was veritably a man of many words as well as good deeds.

He left in the diaries a means to become well acquainted with him long after he had passed from this earthly scene. Some few have utilized this opportunity. Dr. Waters, in his history of Saint Anne's, showed himself familiar with the Edson diary from which he quotes frequently. Mrs. William B. Goodwin, who is of the Edson family connection, read a paper consisting mostly of diary extracts at a gathering a few years ago. The present compiler has used bits of the journals thought to be informing or entertaining in historical articles in the *Courier-Citizen* and the *Sunday Telegram*—the latter assignment one that continues. That anybody of our generation has read or will read the diaries in toto seems improbable. Yet, for some biographer of the modern sort, interested in revealing the psychology as well as the attainments of his subject, this perusal well might be a rewarding task. That is how one gets to know the man.

So far as Theodore Edson's continuum of consciousness and sub-consciousness can be discerned from his diary it is evident—or so it seems to the present commentator, that he was inclined by nature to be an introvert rather than an extrovert. Faithful as he was to his social tasks he was not a born mixer. The entries of the diary indicate that as he grew older his range of interests became narrower. And he never was boisterously fraternal or political.

While ministering to public worship at Saint Anne's, and dwelling during many years in the rectory, Dr. Edson presumably did not have many contacts with the politicians, their meetings and conferences, at the City Hall just across the street. He served, indeed, on the school committee at a time when he was enabled to become the revered father of public school education in Lowell, but there are passages in the diary in the early 1840's showing how glad he was to relieve himself of membership on this board. As for politics in general, and those engaged in sorry and corrupt political trades, his low opinion was tartly set forth in an entry of November 4, 1838, the day after a congressional election which somewhat gave the pace for the log cabin and hard cider campaign of 1840. Believing that only crooks could be president of the United States, though they must be prayed for as instruments through which God could sometimes accomplish good, Dr. Edson delivered himself in part as follows:

"As to the honesty of leading politicians on both sides I have no faith in it. Constituted as our institutions are, men in high office of the state are almost necessarily dishonest. It is almost out of the question that an honest or a good man should ever get to be president of the United States. Nevertheless, since God makes use of good men and bad in the political system of his providence I take even a Nero (see Romans XIII) to be a minister of God. Government instituted in the providence of God is an institution of God, and as such is to be obeyed, whoever is in office . . ."

In preceding paragraphs of this entry Dr. Edson had shown how he abhorred election time, as he saw it from the Gothic door of his church. He wrote:

"The trade of those whose business it is to sustain party politics is a trade of wickedness. Hence the corrupt state and corrupting influence of political newspapers. At the times of popular elections the evil influence of party politics is worked upon to produce a violent spasm or commotion of the whole community. All distinctions of good and evil, or virtue and vice, or morality and religion, are swept away, and for the time being lost sight of by the best people among us.

"These spasmodic convulsions of the people are ruinous to the moral and religious interests of the community, and I heartily deprecate them. My soul loathes them, and when I consider the frivolousness at issue between the two parties and the entire recklessness of party morals or goodness in the leaders or excitors on either side, I dread the return of the spasm and feel but little inclination to increase the violence."

This distaste for the spirit, and spirits, engendered under democracy in the name of an assumedly self-governing people, reappears over and over again in the Edson diary, especially in the years before the Civil War. There is no sense, of course, in scolding him at this date for his seeing anti-Christ in authority at City Hall over the Street and in the national Capitol. His reaction may have been in some part justified by the facts of American political history. It is a reaction that is rather general among people of introverted personality.

Even so apparently harmless an American amusement as completing and dedicating Bunker Hill monument had something sinister in it as Dr. Edson viewed the gala day of June 17, 1843. He was already pacifist enough, and Anglo-phile enough, to comment in the following vein:

"Sat. 17 (June, 1843). This is the great day for celebrating the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument, to attend which and hear Mr. Webster's address, the President comes

to N. E. I often compare the cost of that pile with the money which is raised with so much difficulty for building churches.—ten thousand dollars given for that object with an equal amount spent on this. As to the utility of each and the good that will be done thereby through ages to come, who would not prefer to have done something toward establishing a church in the midst of a growing community where the blessed influence of the gospel will be going forth in all future ages than to have the same amount of stock in that monument? The tendency of that same is of doubtful character, to make the best of it. It cultivates animosity toward the nation which is doing more than all others for the interests of religion and the spread of the Gospel. And it is directly conducive to the war spirit."

Despite such sentiments of indifference toward the then popular monument project, Dr. Edson a few days later, when the president of the United States paid Lowell a visit, and was banqueted, agreed as senior minister of the community to pronounce the invocation.

This topic of Dr. Edson's ingrowing pacifism cannot be blinked or slurred over by sound historianship. It got him into more or less difficulty and personal anguish during the great war which established the American Union and ended feudal slavery in these United States. It turned some of his best friends, among his parishioners and outside the parish, against him. Some of those who were fondest of him, and most devoted to his welfare, are said to have contributed to a fund to get him out of Lowell at a time when popular feeling was most intense against alleged pro-southerners; this is represented to have been the genesis of the European tour which was one of the major events of the rector's life.

That Dr. Edson's positions, taken decidedly but not violently or obstreperously during the Civil War, were not those of a pro-slavery man, or so-called copperhead, but were based on the convictions of a follower of the Prince of Peace—one who followed Christ's pacifism—could easily be maintained by citations from the numerous entries in his diary. This is essentially what Dr. Waters says of him in the Centennial history—that he was first, foremostly and always a man of peace.

If Dr. Edson wrote rather bitterly about Bishop Clark³ and some local ministers who were loud shouters for vigorous prosecution of the war, such entries may have been meant rather to relieve his mind than to hand acrimony down to posterity. He had something on some of his fellows of the clergy as regards consistency of attitude, as may appear from the following self-explanatory lines:

³Thomas March Clark, Bishop of Rhode Island.

"Tuesday 16 (April, 1861). A wet morning. . . . Our neighbor [Gen. B. F. Butler] tendered his services to the Gov. yesterday, and today is off for Washington. . . . It is said that Gen. Butler is about to offer himself to support the administration with hope of getting a generalship and high place. The aspirants for future presidency are *qui vive*—ridiculously so! Huntington Hall was filled (last night). Tap(pan) Wentworth, Linus Child, etc., were speakers and Rev. A. Blanchard (of the First Congregational meeting house) in the prayer endorsed, as I hear, the whole subject of war. Yet in Oct. 1848, Col. Watson said to me that he had applied to Dr. Blanchard to make a prayer on the muster ground at Littleton and that he (Blanchard) declined on principle. Opposed to war he thought it would be inconsistent to encourage murderers so far as to pray for them. The Col. told me that he had been to all the clergymen in the city and that they all declined on the same ground. He asked me whether I had any objection to go. I said Not the least (and went).

"It *seems* that my Rev. brs. have most of them changed their minds and are now hot for war!"

In his attitude of favoring a policy of allowing the "erring sisters" of the South to go in peace, Dr. Edson had two influential supporters of his own communion: Charles Hovey, long treasurer of his church, and Dr. John Orne Green, warden. These men were generally discreet, and when they met with former President Franklin Pierce at the Carleton & Hovey store, they appear to have evaded newspaper publicity as far as possible.

Yet it must have been Dr. Edson's advice not to be cowardly or evasive in a matter of honestly held beliefs. When, directly after President Lincoln's assassination, public resentment flamed against Mr. Hovey, the clergyman suggested gently that he brave the fury. In his diary of April 15, 1865, Dr. Edson wrote:

"Mr. Hovey came in to say that he had been advised by the city marshal to leave Lowell and stay away till Monday morning. I told him I could not advise him but would tell him what I would do in such a case, viz. that I would not leave the town under the circumstances. He has been singularly prudent in speech and action. I would not turn my back."

Dr. Edson's own first ejaculation when he heard of the tragedy at Ford's theatre was one of horror—seemingly at the thought that a president of the United States would tempt divine wrath by going to a playhouse on Good Friday! This interpretation, at all events, of the brief citation that follows is at least plausible:

"Easter even. Saturday 15. Morning bright and beautiful. On going down to chapel I met Simonds who told me that the president is dead—was shot in his box on the night of Good Friday; It was in everybody's mouth through the day."

Turning to the pleasantest and most informing features of the 8,000 pages of faithfully kept diary, we can see where they are a "must" for whoever writes or speaks seriously on any phase of Lowell history, or happenings in the American Episcopal Church between 1839 and 1879. If at a particular date anything momentous is known to have happened here, if at any particular Church gathering, such as the General Convention, important questions were before the bishops and their clergy, it pays to look into the Edson diary to see if perhaps he made comment upon doings or personalities involved. The fact that his characterization may be found to have been caustic makes the diary historically valuable. He was not basically an uncharitable man and in his judgments of his friends in and out of the parish he was often genially lenient. He was, however, realistic enough not to be fooled by newspaper-made reputations and egotistic self-appreciations. His pages are a corrective of the golden haze with which we customarily invest the good old days, the era when everybody was true, unselfish, loyal, patriotic, in contrast to the general rottenness of "nowadays."

Take at random almost any episode of our much romanticized past and see what, if anything, Dr. Edson had to say about it. Much has been written about Lowell as a literary centre in the golden age of American letters. The rector, so far as appears in his diary, did not sit in upon Edgar Allan Poe's lecture in July, 1848, but some years later he was inveigled into using a ticket for readings from the works of Lowell's local poet, Robert B. Caverly. The affair was sponsored by bigwigs of the town, but its social éclat did not fool Theodore Edson (and when we of today look back into the writings of this nearly forgotten versifier we can congratulate the clergyman on his perspicacity). He wrote:

"Oct. 12 (1865). "I had tickets given me for a lecture. I went to Huntington Hall at 7 1/2. Met Mr. and Mrs. T. Wentworth at Hovey's. I went with them to the hall. Took our choice of seats with a view to facility for hearing. He (Mr. Caverly) came on with former Mayor Sargent and former Mayor Lawrence and Dr. Holt seated on the platform. Sargent made a speech. Caverly made another in prose before striking into the poetry—epic poem on the Merrimack river. It is said to be good. I could not hear the whole on account of the rhetorical embellishment of dropping his voice at the

close of sentences. Gentlemen pronounced it a 'literary production of merit.' It cost me my evening."

Among Dr. Edson's qualifications for church and civic management should be mentioned his business acumen, his sense of commercial values. He was not only a good trustee of the Lowell Institution for Savings, serving as its president for some years, but he had evidently inherited from somewhere the instincts of the Yankee trader. The entries in the diary which describe his negotiations with Willis Farrington for sale of the stone manse (now the Edward Fisher house) on Andover street, prove the diarist's enjoyment of the dickering. This clergyman was a born realtor. He would let no other New Englander best him in a trade. Yet he was not conceited as regards his business ability. Late in life he even realized that he was an innocent among the bulls and bears of the stock market. In September, 1868, having seen Mr. Carney at the savings bank for advice as to purchase of certain shares of one of the local corporations, he listened respectfully when told that government bonds would be for him a safer investment. "My own judgment," he observed, "would not go that length. But having lost three thousand dollars by following my own mode of investment I have not quite so much confidence in my own notion as I might otherwise have had."

As a delegate or representative of his charge at Lowell and as editor of the *Christian Witness*,⁴ published in Boston, Dr. Edson became a familiar figure at Episcopal convocations and conventions. He usually upon his return to Lowell commented at some length upon the events which he had witnessed or participated in. Toward evaluating the personalities of bishops and other churchmen any historian of the American Church might get hints and helps from passages in the Edson diary.

One of Dr. Edson's best pieces of writing covered the Episcopal General Convention at Philadelphia in September, 1838. He then saw with approval the appointment of a missionary bishop in the person of Leonidas Polk to Arkansas, afterwards a general in the Confederate army. He took notice of an undercurrent of opposition to Bishop Doane of New Jersey. Above all, and in more general terms the rector from Saint Anne's gave a quite striking word picture of the solemn and impressive procession of bishops and other deputies in St. Peter's Church.

The narrative of the Philadelphia convention was even enlivened, as Dr. Edson's accounts often were, with an episode of personal experience

⁴The *Christian Witness*, of which Dr. Edson was editor, was first published in Boston in '35. In 1841 the name was changed to *The Christian Witness and Church Advocate*, the editors being the Revs. Thomas M. Clark, John S. Stone and John Woart.

which, as told at his own expense, must arouse a gentle smile. This was the occasion when at the hotel where he stayed he involuntarily swapped his shoes for a much worse pair. The story of this tragedy follows:

"Wednesday 5. On going down in the morning found my boots missing. They were probably taken, by mistake I hope, this morning by some person who left early for the steam boat. As a pair very much worn were left in their place the landlord believed mine were taken off by the owner of the worn ones because they were better than his."

In the years of industrial and civic activity which followed the Civil War, Theodore Edson was already an elderly man. He had reached an age at which most of the clergy of today take advantage of pensions to retire from parochial and other activities. Such was not Dr. Edson's opportunity or his disposition. His diary, its pages lengthening rather than shortening as he grew older, attests his faithful performance of every duty that could be expected of him in the Church. If he seemed to be increasingly out of touch with the political and other public movements of his time, such sequestering of his personal interests was doubtless due in part to a sense of waning strength and in part to his temperament. More and more he was of the Church Churchly—some of his parishioners may have felt a little too high church. Yet because he was the revered and venerated Dr. Edson who had served Saint Anne's ever since the oldest parishioner could remember, his views and idiosyncrasies were regarded tolerantly and affectionately. In the community at large he was greatly respected as one of Lowell's most famous institutions.

The Edson diary in the 1870's was still putting on daily record facts concerning contemporary men and women of Lowell and elsewhere which any historian of that period might like to consult for checkup. Many of the entries, as is the fashion of older folk, were reminiscent, connect the then present with a more distant past. A single example of this sort may illustrate the wealth of historical reminder. It concerns the first occupants of the residence in Northen street which we now call the Whistler House. In March, 1879, Dr. Edson wrote:

"Saturday 15. This has been a sad day to us, being that of the demise of Mrs. Mary D. Carleton, relict of George H. Carleton, Esq., and daughter of Paul Moody, Esq. When I came to this then manufacturing village designate fifty-five years ago this present month the house designed for the residence of Mr. P. Moody and his family was in a state of erection and some forwardness. The family, however, were residing in

Waltham and did not move here till the summer of 1824 was considerably advanced. Mary was at school and about 14 years old. The Pollocks were already here. The Moody family came in the course of the summer, and Mrs. Treat followed. Mary Dummer Moody came to her home here when she got through with her school. In the autumn of 1824 there was an extensive transfer of job hands and other employees hither from Waltham. Mr. Carleton came here as a druggist and apothecary from Haverhill soon after, and they were joined in marriage April 25, 1832, nearly a year after the death of her father. On the 8 of December I buried her infant son, Paul Moody, who died in the Lord"

The entry that follows the notice of the passing of Mrs. George H. Carleton (some of whose descendants, incidentally, are still living) is biographically interesting because it shows how carefully Dr. Edson pre-arranged for his own obsequies. He was then in his 86th year and aware that his end could not be far off. He wrote:

"Tuesday 18. Funeral of Mrs. Carleton. I have expressed elsewhere, and yet it may not be amiss to put down here some things respecting the kind of funeral I should prefer for myself: that the body be taken to the Church for an early sacrament open to any who may like to attend; that it may remain in the Church the rest of the day till removed for interment thus giving all who may wish an opportunity to look upon it; that about twelve the Psalter and the Chapter as appointed in the Prayer Book be read by Doctor Hoppin⁵ like as he did on occasion of Mrs. Edson's funeral; that the body be taken to the grave by the side of hers as near the close of day as may be consistent with the comfort of the friends who attend that service, and that the graveside service be said by Doctor Hoppin as on the occasion of Mrs. E.'s funeral."

The time came, as inevitably it must, when the aging rector no longer had the urge to continue writing his invaluable day-by-day record of his life and era. Soon after New Year's, in 1880, he penned in a still clear hand the last entry in his five-million-word diary. It was not an insignificant or perfunctory notice. It reported the fact that St. Anne's and its rector's reputation had just brought to Lowell for a brief stay one of the foremost figures of the High Church or Anglo-Catholic movement—The Rev. Father Benson, founder of the English Order of St. John the Evangelist, popularly known as the Cowley Fathers, a branch of which was established in Boston.

The narrative of Fr. Benson's visit may be retold as we take leave of Theodore Edson, diarist. He wrote:

⁵The Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, D. D., rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts, had been ordered deacon July 2, 1837, by Bishop B. T. Onderdonk of New York.

"Monday 5 (January, 1880). When Doct. Shattuck was here last Michaelmas Day he told me that Father Benson would be in Boston by Christmas. I said I hoped I should see him. Then Doct. S. said Father B. was to be here in Boston but a very short time. 'But you shall see him.' This day Father B. left Boston on the 4 o'clock train and arrived here in Lowell without our notice or expectation at 5 or thereabout. I was out and E. N. E. was at home and though unexpectedly received at the door he wanted to go into the Orphanage and to return on the 6 1/4 train to Boston, so as to take the night train to Philadelphia. So, carrying out the plan, he made a delightful call in Lowell and (as I hope) is now at 10 ev. on his way according with programme as above sketched. He seemed to have an interesting call at the Orphanage. At the tea table he read an important and very well written letter which he had just received from India. Was sorry that the bishop had married. He enquired earnestly about the Orphanage children—what we are going to do with the boys. I told him my ideal. He thinks well of Mr. Hill. I thought there might be too much of seaside. He suggested 'the West.' Inquired about Hon. Hugh Seymour Tremenheere. He once knew him. Thinks him living. Is almost sure that if he were dead he would have heard of it. Making it almost certain that Mr. Tremenheere is now living."

The moving finger thus ceased to write, nor all your piety nor all my wit can guess what followed as the once brilliant mind flickered out toward the day of expiration, June 25, 1883.

[Edson's *Journals* of the General Conventions of 1838 and 1844 will be published in a future issue of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.—*Editor's Note.*]

DR. THOMAS BRAY'S FINAL YEARS AT ALDGATE, 1706-1730

*By Samuel Clyde McCulloch**

One of the most far-sighted, yet least known, Anglicans of the eighteenth century was the Reverend Dr. Thomas Bray. His years as ecclesiastical commissary of Maryland (1696-1703) are the most publicized part of his life. During this period he founded the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1699),¹ whose aim was to send missionaries and libraries to the colonies, and to provide charity schools in England for educating the poor. Although in Maryland only a few brief months in 1700, he was responsible for an act establishing the Anglican Church in Maryland, for the organization of a local missionary plan, and for the assurance of the local clergy's maintenance. The weak position of the Anglican Church in America incited him to found the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1701.² Solidly backed by churchmen it took over the foreign missionary work of the S. P. C. K. After his retirement as commissary, Bray returned to his rectory at Sheldon, Warwickshire; but in 1706 he became rector of St. Botolph without Aldgate, London, where he continued his philanthropic and humanitarian labors until his death in 1730. These final years at Aldgate almost invariably receive the barest description by Bray's biographers. The best account has only three and a half pages,³ and others very much less.

Bray was fifty-one years old⁴ when he settled down at Aldgate.

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¹Hereafter referred to as the S. P. C. K.

²Hereafter referred to as the S. P. G.

³John Wolfe Lydekker, "Thomas Bray (1658-1730): Founder of Missionary Enterprise," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XII (September, 1943), pp. 187-214. Mr. Lydekker's monograph is the most original and extensive yet written, and my article merely builds up his contribution by tapping certain sources at the Huntington Library and elsewhere, probably not available to him during war conditions.

⁴The customary year of Bray's birth is 1656. For his date of baptism Mr. Lydekker checked the baptismal registers of Chirbury, through the courtesy of the present incumbent, the Reverend S. W. Rodin. The date was May 2, 1658, and Mr. Lydekker feels that the baptismal entry of 1658 is the year of Bray's birth.

Because he had chosen to retire from prominent public life, information about the activities of his last years is harder to find. Enough is known to prove that his parish work was highly successful, that he devoted a considerable amount of time to writing, and that he retained a keen interest in all affairs of the colonial Church, particularly in the education of the Negro and Indian, which led to the foundation of the Dr. Bray Associates in 1724. He also became interested in prison reform, an activity which resulted in his co-operation with General Edward Oglethorpe in laying plans for the future colony of Georgia; but Bray died two years before the colony was founded. These activities—parish work, writing, interest in the colonial Church, and prison reform—can now be treated more fully than heretofore.

An excellent description of St. Botolph without Aldgate in the time of Bray has been given by James Paterson in his book, *Pietas Londinensis*. Writing in 1714, Paterson said:

It [the church] is so called because it's very near Aldgate, without the Walls, but within the Liberties of London; it's an antient Church, built of Brick and Stone; it escaped the Violence of the Fire in 1666; and is adorned with a great many antient Monuments, a fine Organ given by Mr. Thomas Whiting; a large Tower one hundred Foot high, with six Bells; a beautiful School-house, erected close to it by Sir John Cass, in 1710, and enriched with divers large Donations, from well disposed Benefactors thereto; and consists of a large and populous parish; wherein are about 1000 dwelling Houses.⁵

Paterson also indicated that morning prayers were "constantly at eleven," evening prayers were at seven in summer, and eight in winter, except Wednesdays, when they were at six.⁶ One wonders if Bray was responsible for another observation of Paterson's: "I find more Donation-Sermons appointed to be preached at the Parish-Church, than any where else."⁷

In his previous parish work Bray had labored energetically to spread and enlarge parochial libraries throughout England and Wales.⁸ This he continued to do, and in 1709 was most gratified to see the passage of an act "for the better preservation of Parochial Libraries in that part of Great Britain called England." The preamble recited that "several charitable and well-disposed Persons have . . . erected Libraries

⁵James Paterson, *Pietas Londinensis: or, The Present Ecclesiastical State of London* (London, 1714), p. 48.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁸Between 1696 and 1699 Bray sent £2,400 worth of books into the plantations, established thirty libraries, and laid the foundation for seventy more. See Bernard C. Steiner, "Rev. Thomas Bray and his American Libraries," *American Historical Review*, II (October, 1896), p. 67.

within several Parishes and Districts in England and Wales, but some Provision is wanting to preserve the same, and such others as shall be provided in the same Manner, from Embezzlement."⁹ Hence came certain provisions including (1) exaction of security from incumbents, and of inspection from the ordinary, (2) creation of systematic catalogues, and (3) provision of powers for the recovery of books withheld, or their value. There were other clauses; but the act left the libraries as it found them—without the provision for continued expansion, thus nullifying the opportunity for permanent usefulness.

In several instances between 1707 and 1730 Bray augmented Church collections which had been founded years before. One case was the supplementation of part of the library of an old family at Whitchurch in Hants. Remnants of this library still survived when Edward Edwards, one of the famous English librarians of the mid-nineteenth century, wrote:

There is still a valuable assemblage of good divinity and Church History; and not a few curious tracts. The collection extends to 750 volumes, and has been carefully catalogued. It is placed in a vestry, over the door of which is this inscription: "For any book borrowed out of this place, the full value thereof shall be laid down in money, untill the same is returned safe and unblemish'd. 1725." This was five years after the augmentation from Bray's fund, which consisted chiefly of the British divines of the seventeenth century, as Tillotson, Whitby, Blackhall, Dr. Henry More, and the like.¹⁰

The living at Aldgate offered Bray financial security, for it paid £150 per annum.¹¹ While the parish was in London, where he could find support for his many benevolent schemes, Bray served his parishioners with a faithful zeal. Proof that he refused to grow old in a doddery and senile manner is a description of him hard at work in his parish in 1723. The antiquary Ralph Thoresby recorded in his diary that he "walked to the pious and charitable Dr. Bray's at Aldgate, and was extremely pleased with his many pious, useful, and charitable projects, which detained me most of the afternoon, . . ."¹² And a week later he wrote:

Walked to Aldgate, where Dr. Bray preached excellently both ends of the day, concerning the Ascension of Christ. Eve-

⁹*The Statutes of the Realm* (London, 1810-1822), IX, p. 83.

¹⁰Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries* (London, 1859), I, pp. 764-765.

¹¹William B. Sprague, "Thomas Bray," *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1857-1869), V, p. 21.

¹²Ralph Thoresby, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, F. R. S.* (London, 1830), II, p. 377.

ning, he read prayers again to a considerable auditory, especially young persons.

During the day the charity children were catechised, and Thoresby remarked: "I was extremely surprised at the prodigious pains so aged a person undertakes, . . .," and continued:

. . . he is very mortified as to the world, and has taken abundance of trouble to have a new church erected in this large parish, though it would lessen the revenue £100 per annum to him, but he hopes would be a more general good to his parochians; he received me most kindly, was very agreeable all day, and urged me to stay to supper; but I returned.¹³

Thoresby's remarks on the worthy doctor's powers of catechising were not exaggerated, for he was famous in this art,¹⁴ and catechising was the subject of his first publication at Aldgate. Despite his heavy parish work, Bray never neglected his writing.

Entitled *A Preliminary Essay towards rendring the Various Expositions on the Church Catechism More Useful to the Second Class of Catechumens*, this work appeared four years after his arrival at Aldgate. In the preface Bray decried the poor general education in England, and the even poorer religious education given the children. His understanding of human nature tempered his reforming instincts, and, being able first to accept the inevitable, his work was of a constructive nature. "Well, but since so it is," he wrote, "that we cannot have the World as good as we would, let us be contented to comply something with the Tempers of People, in order to make it as good as we can." After expressing the hope that parents would encourage their children to say the catechism often and really to learn it, he warmed to his theme and continued more fervently. Pointing an accusing finger at lax Christian mothers and fathers, he emphasized the fact that Jewish parents were exemplary in their care for the religious education of their children. Nor, said Bray, could poverty be given as an excuse. He even played upon a patriotic theme by insisting that other nations would outstrip England in godly zeal. Thus would God be provoked "to remove his Candlestick from you, and to give it to a People worthier than yourselves." Finally he insisted, just as he had in his *Catechetical Lectures* (1696) and *A Short Discourse Upon the Doctrine of our Baptistal Covenant* (1697), that not a "sufficient right is commonly done

¹³Ralph Thoresby, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, F. R. S. (London, 1830), II, p. 381.

¹⁴W. H. Hutton, "Thomas Bray," *Dictionary of Church History* (London, 1912), p. 67.

to the Preliminary Questions and Answers of the Catechism." The book, therefore, carefully expounds these, as well as techniques of catechising.

In 1712, he again appeared in print, but for the first time as a militant anti-Romanist. At the time there was a great fear that the Roman Catholic Stuarts might in some way succeed the now childless Queen Anne, and Bray penned a seasonable work entitled *A Martyrology, or History of the Papal Usurpation*, consisting of "choice and learned treatises of celebrated authors, ranged and digested into a regular history." Anticipating a second volume, he had at no little cost gathered considerable material; but was forced to put it aside, and in his will he bequeathed the collection to Sion College, London.¹⁵ This habit of planning more than he could possibly handle was typical of Bray's eternally optimistic disposition.

The *Primordia Bibliothecaria* (1726) was a plan for enlarging his parochial libraries, and included "a method to proceed by a gradual Progression from Strength to Strength, from a Collection not much exceeding in value one Pound to an hundred Pounds," and in 1728 he wrote a short biography of John Rawlet (1642-1686), who was a friend of his and the author of the once famous *Christian Monitor* and other works. Bray's final publication was the reprinting of the *Life of Bernard Gilpin* by George Carleton, bishop of Chichester, London, 1629, and Erasmus' *Ecclesiastes*. The Rev. Bernard Gilpin (1517-1583), known as "The Apostle of the North" (of England), was famous for his outspoken sermons.¹⁶

The only contemporary negative criticism that can be found at this time about Bray's books is that of the antiquary Thomas Hearne, who seldom had any good to say about anyone. Writing in 1707 about Bray's *Bibliotheca Cathetica, or the County Curate's Library* (1699), Hearne commented: "This Bray, has among other trite Books, written in 4^{to} a Pamphlett wherein he gives a Catalogue of Books usefull for ye Pastor of a Parish." Of Bray himself Hearne remarked: "I am told y^t Dr. Tho. Bray, formerly of All-Souls, is a very conceated Person, & y^t he was always so."¹⁷

Despite his activities as author and parish priest, Bray was a voluminous correspondent. His letters, all of a very practical nature, were

¹⁵*Biographia Britannica* (London, 1748), II, p. 975. For a good history of Sion College, see E. H. Pearce, *Sion College and Library* (Cambridge, 1913). Mr. Pearce, on p. 347, writes that Bray was a first assistant (1719), junior dean (1720), and president of the college in 1727.

¹⁶Lydekker, *loc. cit.*, p. 211.

¹⁷*Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne* (C. E. Doble, ed. Oxford, 1885-1921), II, p. 23.

in a matter-of-fact and business-like style.¹⁸ Likewise his pamphlets, while not among the most learned, always brought immediate, practical results. When accusations were necessary, they were not characterized by vindictive bitterness or insinuations; but were usually direct and dignified, with the proofs clearly cited. It would be hard to exaggerate the far-reaching significance of his writings during his lifetime.

Moreover, throughout all his years at Aldgate he never lost touch with the colonies. Frequently he wrote letters, some concerning missionary affairs, others about his library schemes. In 1724 he actually requested a catalogue of every library in Maryland, giving their present state and condition.¹⁹ Nor did he fail to send out books from time to time in individual packages to the colonies.²⁰ When Edmund Gibson became bishop of London in 1723, he wrote to Bray asking advice about sending a bishop to America. Bray was delighted to find such a powerful champion of his favorite scheme, and, with great cordiality, replied: "I fear I shall not be Capable to Suggest Things Worth Your Notice, however I ought to Obey," and then organized suggestions under the following headings:

- (1) The Use, or rather the Necessity of Establishing a Bishop, or rather Bishops, on the Continent of America.
- (2) The Number Requisite on the Continent alone, whether One or Two at least.
- (3) The Places of Residence, and Bounds of Jurisdiction.
- (4) The Power and Jurisdiction both Ecclesiastical and Civil requisite with respect to the Circumstances of those Governments, wherewithal a Bishop should be Invested, and that especially in the First Formation of the Constitution.
- (5) What Inferior Officers, as Commissaries, or Arch-Deacons, it may be requisite they should have in their respective Dioceses, towards preserving good Discipline, especially among the Clergy under them.
- (6) What Encouragement it will be proper to have in the Disposal of a Bishop, or Bishops, to Give to such of their Parochial Clergy, as shall Best Distinguish themselves for Learning, Pastoral Care, Prudence in Conduct, and Exemplary Morals. And
- (7) The Support or Revenues, which shall be Necessary, and

¹⁸See S. P. G. Letter Books. His sermons were written in a similar style, for example, *The Good Fight of Faith . . . Exemplified in a Sermon Preach'd at the Funeral of Mr. John Dent* (London, 1709) preached before the Society for Reformation of Manners.

¹⁹Fulham Palace MSS. printed in William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church* (Hartford, 1870-1878), IV (Maryland), p. 200.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 228, 317.

the Means to Provide Such, for the Bishops and Inferior but Distinguished Clergy.²¹

In amplifying these suggestions, Bray felt that the reason for the first suggestion was that the "Native Clergy and missionaries must make a Voyage to England of Three Thousand Miles, and back again as much, that they must Run the Dangers of the Seas, and Risque the Pirates, and at a Vast expense" ²² For his second suggestion Bray considered that there should be four bishops—New York and New England, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. Certainly there should be at least two. Under the third suggestion he picked Virginia; then he abruptly ended the letter by pleading that all the details were becoming too tedious.²³ Once again Bray showed that he tended to plan exactly twice as much as he could accomplish!

On July 15, 1724, Bray again wrote to the bishop of London defending one missionary and recommending another. He expressed his opinion of the present missionaries sent out in no uncertain terms:

. . . I may hope most of these Rakes who sometimes offer themselves for the Mission may be so well discover'd beforehand, that your Lordship, I am sure, of all others would not send such Pests into the Country²⁴

Bray then proceeded to give some advice, suggesting that some of the missionaries be put under some kind of probation before they were sent out, and those who proved unfit should be discharged.²⁵

His well known interest in the colonies also brought letters to Bray. The Reverend John Urmston, for example, wrote to Bray from Cecil County, Maryland, on June 30, 1724, saying that he would rather tell his misfortunes to Bray "knowing you to be no half Whig, half papist, as too many of the clergys now a days are."²⁶ Urmston then related how badly he had been treated. How in Philadelphia he had substituted for a minister who had gone to England on leave; but when this minister died there "that 'Jacobite' Talbot" ejected Urmston from Philadelphia, and intercepted his letters which had been sent to friends in London who would have interceded for him. However, Urmston

²¹Dr. Bray to bishop of London, Aldgate, October 28, 1723, in Fulham Palace MSS. (L. C. Photo), "Virginia," Box 3, No. 44, 45.

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴Dr. Bray to bishop of London, Sheldon, July 15, 1724, in Fulham Palace MSS. (L. C. Photo), "S. P. G. Missions," n. p.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Reverend John Urmston to Dr. Bray, Cecil County, Maryland, June 30, 1724, Fulham Palace MSS., printed in Perry, *op. cit.*, IV (Maryland), pp. 236-238.

said he was glad to leave Philadelphia, where there was too much work for too little pay. The letter continued with more criticisms of Talbot, and concluded: "I went by land from Philadelphia to North Carolina, in order to take a view of Maryland & Virginia, & to sell my Plantation stock & goods. That done I returned to Maryland, & am settled in Cecil County."²⁷

Bray continued to give advice about the selection of missionaries. In 1727, when he was seventy-one years old, Bray wrote to the bishop of London:

I am indeed of the opinion that it is of no small consequence that they [the missionaries] should be under some probation here before they are sent, not only to be thereby fully satisfyd of their Sobriety and Good Morals, but that they may during their Stay here attain to a better share of Knowledge in Divinity than ordinarily they bring with them from our Universities.²⁸

The letter also spoke of Bray's having given a library to a man going to instruct Negroes. The following year, moreover, a letter from a missionary in America written to the bishop of London, said that upon Dr. Bray's recommendation a Reverend Mr. Rainsford had resigned his living.²⁹

Curiously enough, Bray had very little to do with the S. P. G. during these years. His advice had been sought in a brief flurry of letters in 1704 and 1705,³⁰ and in the earlier year the Society had recognized his services by adding his name to the list of vice-presidents.³¹ Yet this was their sole recognition of him. The only other correspondence that appears in the S. P. G. letter books is a letter from the secretary to Dr. Bray dated January 17, 1713, in which Bray's knowledge of colonial affairs is called upon.³² Bray actually crossed swords with the Society—in a brief and mild skirmish—over the D'Allone

²⁷Reverend John Urmston to Dr. Bray, Cecil County, Maryland, June 30, 1724, Fulham Palace MSS., Printed in Perry *opp. cit.*, IV (Maryland), pp. 136-238.

²⁸Dr. Bray to bishop of London, Aldgate, October 15, 1727, in Fulham Palace MSS. (L. C. Photo), "Virginia," Box 1, No. 60.

²⁹Reverend John Eversfield to bishop of London, July 4, 1728, Fulham Palace MSS., printed in Perry, *op. cit.*, IV (Maryland), p. 261.

³⁰Dr. Bray to Secretary, Sheldon, June 24, 1704, in S. P. G. Letter Book, MSS. (L. C. Photo), A 1, No. CLXVI.

Same to same, Sheldon, May 24, 1704, in *ibid.*, No. CLXIV.

Same to same, Sheldon, November 11, 1704, in *ibid.*, A 2, No. XI.

Same to same, Sheldon, November 27, 1704, in *ibid.*, No. XV.

Same to same, Sheldon, December 23, 1704, in *ibid.*, No. XVII.

Same to same, Sheldon, March 24, 1705, in *ibid.*, No. LXVI.

³¹S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Photo), I, p. 136 (all pages in this Journal are photo pages).

³²Secretary to Dr. Bray, London, January 17, 1713, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Photo), A 7 (Inland Letters), No. VII.

will and over the management of the legacy; but this matter will be discussed shortly. It is strange that the journal, the *Abstract of Proceedings*, and the annual sermon all fail to mention Bray's death, although it was not unnoticed, for the *Abstract* dropped his name from the list of members.³³ It does not seem likely that Bray quarrelled with the Society. If he did not, it would seem that he was not considered very important in their eyes. More probably Bray purposely severed all active connections with the S. P. G. after 1706 simply because he realized that it was now a large, successful, and smooth-running organization, and that he could turn to some other more challenging scheme for his never-flagging energy.

Bray's interest in the colonies during his years at Aldgate even caused him to lock literary horns with the famous philosopher, Bishop Berkeley. About 1721 Berkeley, then a dean, wrote a pamphlet entitled, "Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in Our Foreign Plantations and for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity by a College to Be Erected in the Summer Islands, Otherwise called the Isle of Bermuda."³⁴ He selected the location because he considered the American colleges to be in a low moral condition.³⁵ Bray did not reply until 1727, when he offered a counter proposal to Berkeley's plan called "Missonalia, or a Collection of Missionary Pieces Relating to the Conversion of the Heathen, both the African Negroes and the American Indians. In Two Parts."³⁶ In it he defended the colonial clergy, urged on their work among the Negroes and Indians, spoke of the D'Allone Trust, and, naturally, insisted upon the foundation of libraries. Finally, he attacked the exorbitant cost of Berkeley's plan.³⁷

The D'Allone Trust, of which Bray spoke, was intimately involved with the last great scheme of his life—the conversion and education of Indians and Negroes. In 1699 when Bray was in Holland seeking King William's aid for his library schemes, he conversed at great length with M. Abel Tassin D'Allone, the king's secretary, on the subject of the Negro's needs. Even then Bray had ideas of planning a society which would carry on work "amongst ye Poorer sort of people, as also amongst ye Blacks & Native Indians."³⁸ Some years later D'Allone

³³See list in *Abstract of Proceedings for 1730*, pp. 60-61. The annual sermon was delivered by Dr. Zachary Pearce, vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, and chaplain in ordinary to King George II.

³⁴Bernard C. Steiner, "Two Eighteenth Century Missionary Plans," *The Sewanee Review*, XI, p. 294.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 295.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 297.

³⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 197ff.

³⁸Quoted in William Webb Kemp, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (New York, 1913), pp. 14-15.

gave Bray £900, to be devoted to the instruction of Negroes, and on his death in 1721 D'Allone bequeathed one-tenth of his English estate together with the arrears of the pension due him from the crown at the time of his death, "as a fund to be used by Bray and his Associates for erecting a school or schools for the children of parents of negro slaves in the Christian religion, and the parents if they so wished."³⁹

In 1723 Bray, despite his apparent vigor, suffered a severe illness, and Lord Palmerston (Henry Temple), the custodian of the D'Allone legacy, suggested that Bray should nominate and appoint by deed whom-ever he wished "to have Associates with him in the Disposition of the Legacy."⁴⁰ Thus there came into being a body called "Dr. Bray's Associates for founding clerical libraries and supporting negro schools," whose authority was ratified by a decree of chancery on June 24, 1730.⁴¹ Besides Bray, the original "Associates" were four in number—the Reverend Stephen Hales, D. D., F. R. S. (the distinguished plant physiologist); his brother, Robert Hales, William Belitha, of London, and John, Lord Viscount Percival, afterwards first Earl of Egmont.⁴²

Strange to say the S. P. G. contested the D'Allone legacy, and in a meeting on February 19, 1724, formed a committee which had directions "to receive any Evidence they [the Dr. Bray Associates] can produce, that the said Bequest does belong to Dr. Bray and those Gentlemen nominated by him and not to this Society."⁴³ Evidently Bray produced sufficient proof, for on March 19 the journal read: "Where-upon the Committee agreed as their Opinion that the said Bequest of Mr. D'Alloune seems to have been entrusted to the said Gentlemen and their Associates and not to have been intended to be managed and disposed by the Society. Agreed to by the Society."⁴⁴ No explanation has yet been found why the S. P. G. demanded the D'Allone legacy. Possibly, as the oldest missionary society, the members felt that such a bequest was rightly theirs. It seems hardly likely that the S. P. G. was jealous of Bray's new enterprise.

Although the Dr. Bray Associates were founded in 1723, Bray was still working as hard as ever in 1727. In that year a friend told him of the terrible conditions existing in the prisons of Whitechapel and the Borough. The description had such an effect that Bray immediately

³⁹S. P. G. Letter Book MSS. (L. C. Photo), A 19, p. 17.

⁴⁰Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Durham, 1928), p. 306.

⁴¹S. P. G. Letter Book MSS. (L. C. Photo), A 19, pp. 18-20; Dr. Bray Associates MSS., Minute Book, 1730-1735 (L. C. Photo), p. 7 (all pages in this manuscript are photo pages).

⁴²S. P. G. Letter Book MSS. (L. C. Photo), A 19, p. 18.

⁴³S. P. G. Journal (L. C. Photo), V, p. 37.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, V, pp. 40-41.

solicited funds to relieve the prisoners,⁴⁵ and conferred with General James Edward Oglethorpe on the subject of jails and debtor's conditions.⁴⁶ Oglethorpe became a member of the Dr. Bray Associates, and undertook to sponsor a plan for the colonization of debtors.

Both Bray and Oglethorpe were shocked at the terrible prison conditions. "Appalling" has been the adjective used by Sidney and Beatrice Webb in describing these conditions at the opening of the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ "The first concern of the eighteenth century gaoler," they write, "was naturally to avoid incurring any expense. Hence the use of irons and chains for safe custody, instead of walls and warders; the immuring in underground dungeons and windowless garrets, and the herding together in roofless yards, of prisoners of both sexes and all ages, healthy and sick, innocent and guilty; hence also the indescribable lack of sanitary accommodation, the scarcity of water and the non-provision of food, clothes or firing."⁴⁸ Such a state of affairs continued throughout the century, if one can judge from the plays of John Gay, the novels of Henry Fielding and Tobias Smollett, and the almost frightening report of John Howard entitled, *The State of Prisons in England and Wales*.⁴⁹ Besides the evil features described above by the Webbs, the nauseating stench and the constant presence of disease seem to have been even more horrible, especially the latter, because "gaol fever" (a malignant form of typhus) was both contagious and fatal.

While Bray was attempting to ameliorate the condition of the prisoners at Whitechapel and the Borough by prevailing upon friends and other benevolent persons to contribute funds for "Bread, Beef and Broth" on Sundays and occasional week-days,⁵⁰ Oglethorpe sought parliamentary aid. Upon his motion the House of Commons appointed a committee on February 25, 1729, to inquire into the "State of the Gaols,"⁵¹ and Lord Percival, of the Dr. Bray Associates, was one of the members. The committee found the prisons even worse than they

⁴⁵J. H. Overton, "Thomas Bray," *Dictionary of National Biography* (New York, 1908-1909), VI, p. 240.

⁴⁶Verner W. Crane, "The Philanthropists and the Genesis of Georgia," *American Historical Review*, XXVII (October, 1921), p. 65.

⁴⁷Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Prisons under Local Government* (London, 1923), p. 18.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴⁹John Howard, *The State of Prisons in England and Wales* (Warrington, 1777), *passim*.

⁵⁰[Samuel Smith], *A Short Historical Account of the Life and Doings of Rev. Thomas Bray, D. D.*, printed in Maryland Historical Society Publication, No. 37 (Bernard C. Steiner, ed., *Rev. Thomas Bray, His Life and Select Works Relating to Maryland*, Baltimore, 1901), p. 46.

⁵¹*The Journals of the House of Commons* (Printed by Order of the House of Commons, n. d.), XXI, p. 237.

had expected,⁵² and as a result of their investigation some of the worse offenders among the jail officials were prosecuted, and an act was passed which, according to Oglethorpe, freed 10,000 insolvent debtors.⁵³

Oglethorpe, the guiding genius of the committee, was now a national hero.⁵⁴ Nevertheless the prison inquiry, although eradicating many evils, made no provision for the miserable debtors let out by the act of 1729. It was at this time that Oglethorpe and Bray conferred on the situation, and planned a colony for debtors. The first problem was to obtain money. Fortunately, a legacy of £5,000 was soon found. A haberdasher by the name of King left the sum of £15,000 as a charity fund "to be disposed of as his executors should please."⁵⁵ Two of the three trustees were over seventy, and the third was King's heir. "The latter desiring to convert it illegally," writes Amos Aschbach Ettinger, Oglethorpe's recent biographer, "the two elders retained Oglethorpe to aid them in the fulfilment of their duties. A lawsuit resulted, which Oglethorpe won. The heir contested the verdict, but the Lord Chancellor handed down a sustaining decision. Anxious to be relieved of their responsibilities, the two remaining trustees now proposed to add this estate to some other fund for meritorious purposes."⁵⁶ Because Oglethorpe won their case for them, he was given a grant of £5,000 for his enterprise, which was to be added to such other sums as he could provide.

Oglethorpe then proposed to Bray that the original number of the Dr. Bray Associates be augmented. In this way the reforming group in parliament and the philanthropists outside (who held the D'Allone trust of £900) could be combined in a constructive effort to aid the poor.⁵⁷

It seems that Bray had already proposed a scheme for the colonization of debtors,⁵⁸ and had many times conversed about it with his close friend and parishioner, Thomas Coram, a London merchant engaged in colonial commerce and also the founder of the great London Foundling Hospital. Writing about the enlargement of the Dr. Bray Associates, Coram said:

⁵²*The Journals of the House of Commons* (Printed by Order of the House of Commons, n. d.), XXI, p. 377. The several reports of the committee are given in *The Parliamentary History of England* (William Cobbett, ed. London, 1806-1820), VIII, pp. 708-753, 803-826.

⁵³Diary of the First Earl of Egmont (Viscount Percival), MSS. of the Earl of Egmont, *Historical Manuscripts, Commissions* (London, 1920-1922), I, p. 90. (Hereafter cited as *Egmont Diary*.)

⁵⁴Amos Aschbach Ettinger, *James Edward Oglethorpe: Imperial Idealist* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 89-95.

⁵⁵*Egmont Diary*, I, p. 90.

⁵⁶Ettinger, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁵⁷Crane, *loc. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

⁵⁸[Smith], *op. cit.*, p. 47.

. . . yet he [Bray] would before he dyed find out a way to have a Settlement made for the Releife of such honest poor Distressed Famelies from hence as by Losses, want of Employment or otherwise are reduced to poverty and such who were persecuted for their professing the protestant Religion abroad, to be happy by their Labour and Industry in some part of His Majesties Dominions in America but was of the Opinion the place I proposed was too far Northward, the Winters being very long there; he sent for Mr. James Vernon, the Reverend Dr. Hales, Ld. Percival and Mr. Oglethorpe and 2 or 3 more and proposed their Entering into an association with him tho Confined to his Chamber for the Carrying on his Design of a Colony, and two Designs of his own viz't for Instructing the Negroes in the British Plantations in the Christian Religion; (for which there is £960 now at Interest under good security) for Settling Parochial Libraries in Great Britain; and for other Good Purposes; he sent for proper persons to Draw up an Instrument suitable to the occasions and to his good liking

...⁵⁹

Was Bray, therefore, the first who moved to organize the project of a debtor colony in America? Both his friends and the executors of his plans insist that he was.⁶⁰ Certainly the enlarged Dr. Bray Associates formed the core of the Georgia Board of Trustees. Meetings of each were often held on the same day, members simply moving from one to the other.⁶¹ By July, 1730, Oglethorpe's plans were complete, and thus a third aim was appended to the Dr. Bray Associates—the colonization of debtors.⁶² It was indeed sad that Bray's death precluded his seeing this last fulfillment of his plans.

Recently an attempt has been made to disprove the close connection between the Dr. Bray Associates and the Georgia Board of Trustees. Professor Albert B. Saye in his book, *New Viewpoints of Georgia History* (1943), has tried to give emphasis to his title in chapter one—"The Genesis of Georgia." He is most successful when his revisionist argument is directed against the obsolete legend that Georgia was a colony of debtors. But, carried away by his argument, he challenges the importance which historians have given to philanthropic factors in Georgia's foundation. There is a danger, he writes, in "following the error now woven into Georgia history and over-emphasizing the closeness of the relation of the first Board of Trustees of Georgia to the

⁵⁹Coram to Benjamin Colman, April 30, 1734, in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings* (W. C. Ford, ed. "Letters of Thomas Coram"), LXI, pp. 20-21.

⁶⁰Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁶¹*Egmont Diary*, *passim*.

⁶²Crane, *loc. cit.*, p. 66.

Associates of Dr. Bray."⁶³ And again: "Placing the origin of the Colony of Georgia in the activities of a religious society casts the wrong light, or rather, far too much of the same light, upon the scene."⁶⁴ As the source of the so-called "error now woven into Georgia history," Professor Saye cites an article by Dr. Verner W. Crane entitled, "The Philanthropists and the Genesis of Georgia," *American Historical Review*, XXVII (October, 1921), 63-69. In this article Dr. Crane presents the evidence from the Egmont *Diary* and other sources, that, institutionally, the Georgia Board of Trustees evolved out of the enlargement and reorganization of the Dr. Bray Associates in 1730.

Professor Saye's discussion of this institutional problem between 1730 and 1732 is so confusing that it is hard to find out just how much he rejects of Dr. Crane's formula. Moreover, he makes the mistake of concluding that Dr. Crane's detailed examination of one aspect of Georgia's genesis implies neglect of the larger picture. The article was merely preliminary to a more extended discussion in chapter thirteen of Dr. Crane's book, *The Southern Frontier* (1928). Anyone who reads this book carefully will be more than satisfied that the strategic and "imperialistic" motives for founding Georgia are not neglected, and that the philanthropic origins are not overemphasized.

Professor Saye's arguments err simply because he fails to use a long-lost source containing decisive evidence upon the particular issue of institutional origin. This is the Rough Minute Book (March 21, 1730, to December 3, 1735) of the Dr. Bray Associates. Professor Saye asserts that: "The MSS. *Minutes* from 1735 onwards . . . are the earliest records of the Associates of Dr. Bray."⁶⁵

It is also significant that the Reverend Samuel Smith's claim that Bray was the prime instigator in enlarging the Associates and actually proposed it to Oglethorpe, is contained in an official biography,⁶⁶ which was authorized by the enlarged society on February 23, 1731, and approved June 17.⁶⁷ Moreover, at the meeting on August 12, with Oglethorpe in the chair, a manuscript copy was ordered sent to Sir Hans Sloane.⁶⁸ Had Professor Saye seen the early Minute Book, he would have neither questioned Smith's authorship, nor in a note on page sixteen repeated the incorrect ascription to Rawlinson made by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner.

⁶³Albert B. Saye, *New Viewpoints in Georgia History* (Athens, 1943), p. 19.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 23, 48n.

⁶⁶[Smith], *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁶⁷Dr. Bray Associates MSS., Minute Book, 1730-1735 (L. C. Photo), pp. 31, 37.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 41.

The final proof of the institutional parentage of Georgia is contained in the Minute Book entry for June 29, 1732:

Mr. Oglethorpe reported from the Committee appointed for soliciting a Charter at a Meeting on the fourteenth Day of January 1730/1, that pursuant to the desires of the Trustees for educating Negroes, etc., they had obtain'd his Majesty's Charter of Incorporation & Grant of Lands to the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, and deliver'd the same.⁶⁹

Bray never lived to see the colony. Late in 1729 the strain of a long and constantly active life had begun to tell on his strong constitution. Recently his health had become very uncertain, and on February 15, 1730, at the age of seventy-three, he died.

Such a generous and indefatigable worker could have had little time for private life; and of the little that he must have had, we have yet to find the slightest mention. From his will we learn that Bray had a daughter, Mrs. Goditha Martin, who was married to an upholsterer named James Martin, and a son, William Bray. Evidently his wife had died before 1729, because he made Goditha Martin his sole executrix, and failed to mention Mrs. Bray in the will. He left most of his money to his daughter, although certain books were to be sold and the proceeds applied to the use of his son. Why Mrs. Martin was made the executrix, and not William Bray, is not known. Moreover he gave all his household goods and furniture to his son-in-law, James Martin. Some of his books were left to individuals, and small sums of money bequeathed to close friends. The Dr. Bray Associates also were to receive some money. The overseers of the will were William Belitha, the Reverend Dr. Stephen Hales, and the Reverend Samuel Smith, and it was proved on March 4, 1730.⁷⁰

The final years at Aldgate, while not so spectacular as his term as commissary of Maryland, were nevertheless full of solid accomplishments. At Aldgate his interest never flagged in his numerous humanitarian enterprises. He ameliorated prison conditions, he sent libraries into England and throughout the colonies, and he supported and encouraged the propagation of the gospel amongst white and colored alike. Bray's greatest gift, however, was in establishing institutions which could carry on his work. One of these, the Dr. Bray Associates, was created during his days at Aldgate, and when he died, he knew that it, together with the S. P. C. K. and the S. P. G., would achieve what he alone could hardly dare to dream. In multiplicity lay the permanence he so much desired, because all three societies are functioning today.

⁶⁹Dr. Bray Associates MSS., Minute Book, 1730-1735, (L. C. Photo), p. 58.

⁷⁰From a transcript made from the will which at present resides in London.

EARLY ORGANISTS OF CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON: 1736-1824

*By Mary Kent Davey Babcock**

The best of organs would be useless without organists to play them. The story of music in Christ Church, Boston, would be incomplete, and less than justice would be done, if we failed to include in our narrative some account of the early organists of the parish.

For several decades in colonial New England, organs were to be found only in Episcopal churches. The early organists, therefore, as well as the organ builders, have an honored place in the history of the development of Church music in America.

Moreover, being almost without exception laymen who thus enriched the Church's worship, they should not be left among those "which have no memorial, who are perished, as though they had never been,"† but should be gratefully remembered by later generations.

Their biographies, all too brief because of the paucity of information, are interesting in themselves, and we could wish that more might be known about them.

WILLIAM PRICE

1736-1743

The first organist of Christ Church was William Price, a post he filled for over six years under the terms of a unique contract on file in the church archives. It reads as follows:

Whereas I the under named William Price did make a Voluntary Offer to the Church Wardens & Vestry of Christ Church in Boston at a Meeting of the Said Vestry March the 15, 1735/6, that I the Said William Price will officiate as Organist in Said Church for one year certain with [out] demanding any Sallry for the Same, The Church Wardens being desirous that I Should give it under my hand, agreeable there unto, I do now promise to the present Church Wardens Mess^{rs} John Hooton & Rob^t Jarvis and allso to the Church Wardens for the time being that at all proper & Usual

*Parish Historian of Christ Church, Boston, 1935-1944.

†Ecclesiasticus 44:9.

Times of Divine Service officiate as Organist in Christ Church in Boston, for one year certain without demanding any Sallery from the Church Wardens for the Same, and at the End of Said year do further promise to Officiate as Organist in Said Church (if Residing in Boston) for and during th Space of four years certain, for consideration of which the Church Wardens of Said Church now and for the time being Shall & will truly pay or cause to be paid unto the Said William Price The Sum of ten pounds p Quarter—Immediately after Each Quarter day current money of New England for Every Quarter of a year that the Said William Price Shall Officiate as Organist in Said Church during the Space of the above mention four years, in Witness where of I have Set my hand this 25 day of march in the year 1736—

WILLIAM PRICE

Sign in the	}	G. Tenant
Presence of us	}	Tho ^s Greene.

Mr. Price's organ playing dated back twenty-two years to the year 1714, when the parish of King's Chapel installed the organ bequeathed by Thomas Brattle, Esq., to the Brattle Square Meeting House [Congregationalist] with the proviso that if that society did not accept the gift, the organ was to be offered to the King's Chapel. There was then no other church organ in all New England, and for many years thereafter there was none in any but Episcopal churches.

No organist nearer than England was available and while awaiting the arrival of one from London, William Price of King's Chapel officiated as organist, for which he was paid on August 20, 1714, seven pounds, ten shillings "for One Qrs Sallery due at Midsummer 1714," in addition to "seven pounds Ten shillings more for work he has done ab^t the Organ."

In time for Christmas, 1714, Mr. Edward Enston arrived from London and William Price's services as organist were no longer needed. Enston's salary was £30 yearly, the same as that paid to Price, and he was expected to supplement the church payments by giving music and dancing lessons. He had also been instructed to learn how to make repairs on an organ before leaving England.

Nine years later when the new church at the North End was nearing completion the vestry of King's Chapel on November 23, 1723,

Voted that M^r Edw^d Enston deliver the Key of the Organs to Mess^{rs} Price & Gifford that they may practice on the Organ in order to qualify one of them to be Organist.

No doubt Mr. Price availed himself of the privilege and we know that Nathaniel Gifford did, as he succeeded Edward Enston as organist of King's Chapel only a few months later on April 6, 1724.

A second Episcopal church in Boston without an organ was unthinkable and William Price, who was to be so intimately associated with Christ Church, had ample opportunity to prepare himself through the next nine years to become a qualified organist. He may even have had instruction from Charles Theodore Parchebel, of Boston, who was called to be organist of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, when the organ presented by Dean Berkeley was set up in that church in 1733. All this probable preparation makes William Price more than "an organist of sorts," as he is frequently referred to.

In any event, he played the Claggett organ in Christ Church from 1736 to 1743, and holds the title of first American to play a church organ in New England.

On October 27, 1743, he receipted for £23 O. T. "in part of my Sallery as Organis of Christ Church" and on March 31, 1744, for "£20 in full to this day of all demands from Christ Church," evidently arrears of payment as his successor in the organ loft had begun at Easter, 1743.

STEPHEN DEBLOIS

1743-1747

The second organist of Christ Church was Stephen Deblois, son of a Huguenot refugee who had fled from France after the Revocation (1685) of the Edict of Nantes and settled in Oxford, England. There his son Stephen was born in 1699, the family removing to America on the same ship which brought William Burnet to New York as governor in 1720. In his retinue came also Ann Furley, who became the wife of Stephen Deblois. Two sons were born of this marriage: the elder, Gilbert, was named for William Burnet's father, the bishop of Salisbury, who stood godfather; and Lewis, born in 1727 in New York. Thoroughly Anglicised, the family name was written "Deblois," not "de Blois" and the sons' baptismal names, Stephen, not Etienne, and Lewis, not Louis.

In 1728 William Burnet arrived in Boston as royal governor and in his train came Stephen Deblois and his infant family. Many Huguenot refugees found a Church home in Boston in the French Protestant Church in School Street, but a goodly number affiliated themselves with the Episcopal Church. Deblois naturally enough became a member of the King's Chapel parish, where his friend, the royal governor, worshipped. In the bookish and musical atmosphere of their English home and as intimates in the governor's circle where good music was a part of the household's daily life, Stephen Deblois had ample opportunity to

enable him to acquire proficiency sufficient to become organist of King's Chapel in 1733. The governor's sudden and tragic death deprived the Deblois family of much social advantage, but they remained for many years loyal and public spirited citizens of Boston until, ardent loyalists, they were forced to flee on the evacuation of Boston.

When Christ Church was deciding on an organ in 1736 the vestry had requested Stephen Deblois and William Price, or either of them, to pass judgment on the Claggett organ in Newport, Rhode Island. William Price made the inspection, but it was Stephen Deblois who tuned the organ for the first public recital given December 19, 1736. In 1743 he succeeded William Price as organist in Christ Church, which position he held until Easter, 1747, when he returned as organist to King's Chapel.

The Deblois family history, like that of so many of the French Huguenots, is full of interesting incidents and liberalities. When the small wooden chapel which had served his majesty's representatives since 1689 was torn down and replaced by the present stone building in 1749, Deblois was a liberal donor as well as to the fund for a new organ in 1756.

Bostonians of an older generation will long remember the row of stately English elms which stood in front of the Granary Burying Ground. Few know they were planted in 1770 by Gilbert Deblois, who bought the young saplings from James Smith, a rich distiller, who had secured them in England, Deblois promising to name a son for Smith in exchange. But because the trees were cared for by a patriotic coachman, Adino Paddock, and because soon after their planting the Deblois family was proscribed and banished, they became known as the Paddock Elms. In 1874, when Tremont Street was widened, T. W. Parsons, the poet, in a sonnet, "Too Late," bewailed their destruction, complaining in a letter to a friend that they had been "guillotined in the cause of horse cars."

Ann Furley Deblois died in 1762, and when Stephen Deblois joined her in 1778, both sons, Gilbert and Lewis, were proscribed and banished and their estates forfeited, for they had sailed away with the troops in March, 1776, at the evacuation of Boston.

LEWIS DEBLOIS

1747-1748

1760-1761

Lewis, younger son of Stephen Deblois, was born in New York, September 9, 1727. Thus he was not quite twenty years of age when he succeeded his father as organist of Christ Church.

He was later a successful merchant, doing a large importing business in hardware and other foreign goods, including musical instruments, which he sold at his shop in Dock Square at the Sign of the Golden Eagle. In 1754, in partnership with his brother, Gilbert, the two built and operated Concert Hall, a musical rendezvous for nearly a century. Their shop, The Crown and Comb, was on the ground floor, the Concert Hall above was the music hall of its day, and many public functions, besides concerts, took place there. It is especially interesting to Episcopalians, as the diocesan convention of 1796, which for the second time elected Edward Bass bishop of Massachusetts, was held there; and such public observances as memorial services on the death of Washington, like that held by St. John's Lodge in 1800. Not until Hanover Street was widened in 1869 was the building, which stood on the south corner of Queen (now Court) and Hanover Streets, demolished.

Frequent trips to England kept him in touch with novelties which he often wished to unload when contemplating another trip abroad. Thus in June, 1763, he advertised in the *Boston Gazette* "for sale a curious Ton'd double key'd new harpsicord just imported in *Capt. Millard* from London. Is esteem'd the Master Piece of the famous Falconer"; and "an organ for church use made by Thomas Johnston of Boston used in Concert Hall," the final disposition of which we would like to know more about.

Lewis Deblois entered the inner circle of Christ Church life when Dr. Cutler united him in marriage on September 4, 1748, to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Jenkins, a prominent North End merchant, for some forty years a moving spirit in Christ Church, of which he was junior and senior warden in 1736 and 1737. Elizabeth died in 1767, and Lewis married Elizabeth Debuque in 1770.

He remained as organist of Christ Church one year, ending at Easter, 1748. Twelve years later he was recalled by a vote of the vestry, when the wardens were desired to "wait on Mr. Deblois and agree with him to play on the Organ on the best terms they can not exceeding £26-13-11 Law money p^r Annum." This time he was evidently to play on the Johnston organ, which Thomas Dipper, organist of King's Chapel, had tuned in October, 1759, for four pounds four shillings lawful money. This seems to fix the date of the use of the Johnston organ which was to serve Christ Church some seventy years. It was natural that Deblois, who had presided over the smaller Claggett organ, should have had an opportunity to try out Johnston's masterpiece, over which he had labored so long. Deblois resigned at the end of the church year, Easter, 1761.

When the war clouds gathered and Boston was blockaded, a subscription for the sufferers by the siege was raised, to which both Gilbert

and Lewis Deblois subscribed; but when the British sailed away from Boston in March, 1776, bound for Halifax, the Deblois brothers, ardent loyalists, were among the refugees. After the Revolution, when, under James Freeman, King's Chapel was turned into a Unitarian church (the first in the United States), Gilbert Deblois for himself and his brother, Lewis, who was in England, protested with others the installation of Freeman as an Episcopal minister. Lewis Deblois never returned to Boston, but died in England in 1799 and was buried there.

TIMOTHY BUCK

1748-1749/50

On Easter Monday, March 26, 1749, the vestry passed the following vote:

That the Church Wardens and Vestrymen agree with Mr. Timothy Buck the present Organist about what he is to have for the Time past & agree with him for a certain Time to come how much he shall have p^r year.

Evidently a long term contract such as that with William Price seemed desirable to the parish, for on April 6, 1749, there was a further vote:

That Mr. Timothy Buck have fifty-five pounds Salery p^r Year Ingagein himself To play on y^e Organ For 4 Years To Come at the same Rate p^r Year old Tenor.

His service, however, was of short duration, for on March 6, 1749/50, when the first year was up, the proprietors' book shows the following entry:

Whereas Mr. Buck has given Offence to y^e Church by his Obstinate and irreverent behaviour in y^e house of God & suffering others so to Doo likewise his not performing to y^e Sattisfaction of y^e Church as an Organist

Therefore it is Voted that the Church has no further use for him as an Organist he being not worthy of that Station.

A month later Mr. Thomas Johnston re-enters the Christ Church picture in the person of his son, William.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON

1750-1753

The proprietors of Christ Church now turned to Thomas Johnston, who was soon to build a new organ for them, and on April 6, 1750,

Voted That Will^m Johnson son to Mr. Tho^s Johnson be Organist of Christ Church and to have seven pounds six shillings eight pence per Annum Lawful Money.

(This amount was equivalent to the £15 old tenor paid to Timothy Buck.)

In 1751 the salary was raised to eight pounds. William Johnston continued as organist until July 17, 1753, when £15 old tenor (equivalent to 40 shillings (£2) lawful money) was paid for a quarter's salary as organist. Only twice while playing the Christ Church organ does William himself receipt for his salary, the usual entry being signed by Thomas Johnston, "£15 O. T. for One Quarter's Salary for my son's playing the Organ at Christ Church that is two pounds lawful money." After William became of age in 1753, he ceased playing the Christ Church organ.

Miss Williams, in her genealogy of the Johnston family, describes William as a painter of some repute as well as an organist, a personal friend of John Singleton Copley, from whom he at one time ordered a picture of his sister, Sarah (Mrs. Hobby), with *carte blanche* instructions—"Whatever your price is shall be remitted to you in specie or anything you may fancy from the Island." William, who was twice married, at that time was living in Barbadoes and died there at Bridgetown before October, 1772. His signature, like his father's, is always Johnston yet every entry by the clerk in Christ Church records is written "Johnson."

WILLIAM SHEFFORD

1753-1754

After William Johnston left his post of organist (for what reason is not stated), the wardens, casting about for an organist, decided on William Shefford, who began on October 21, 1753. The record shows he was engaged at a salary of "£60 O. T. per annum the same as Mr. Johnson the last organist had."

The first payment made to him on January 13, 1754, was for "£1.10—£14-11-0."

An interesting record concerning him is that of May 2, 1754, when William Graves was paid twenty-seven pounds, nine shillings and ten pence "for a suit of Cloths &c for W^m Shefford, Organist." Ten days later he received four pounds, ten shillings for "playing on Organs, two Sundays."

He was succeeded by John Cutler, a noted musician.

JOHN CUTLER

1754-1759

When William Shefford left his post as organist of Christ Church in 1754 wearing, we hope, the new suit of clothes provided by the parish, he was succeeded by one who has turned out to be a man of mystery.

His name, John Cutler, was a not unfamiliar one in 18th century Boston. Timothy Cutler's father was Major John Cutler, and Timothy's oldest son was named John, and at King's Chapel there is a record of

"1766. March. To Cash paid John Cutler for
Stove for y^e Organ loft 1.8.-

Dr. Foote states in his *Annals of King's Chapel* that a Dr. John Cutler was "among the influential members of the Parish" in the early 18th century. According to family records, Dr. Cutler, being childless, adopted first, a son of his brother Peter, named John, and on the latter's death, the son of another brother, David, also named John. This opens the possibility of the Trinity organist, born in 1723, and the organist of Christ Church being the same person.

As the former, still according to family tradition, was a musician and served as organist of Trinity Church from 1764 to 1780, and as Christ Church had an organist named John Cutler in 1755, the natural inference is that the Trinity organist and the Christ Church organist were one and the same man. Church organists were few in Boston at this time, as only the three Episcopal churches contained organs, but the historian cannot afford to infer anything without documentary evidence.

The John Cutler who came to Christ Church fortunately left a sample of his handwriting in the receipt for seven months' service as organist. The wardens' receipt book contains a receipt signed May 26th, 1755, by John Cutler for "Four Pounds Thirteen Shillings & four Pence Lawfull money in full for Seven Months Sallery for Playing on y^e Organ at Christ Church." A further payment of £35 was made June 30, 1755, but the length of service is not stated. Although there are payments to an organ blower at intervals up to that date, there is no record of payment to an organist until on Easter Monday, 1756, the proprietors voted "to Agree with the Organist on the best Terms as not Settled Before," but still with no mention of the organist's name. The reference to Trinity Church records shows that on Easter Monday, 1755, John Cutler was voted £20 for filling "a vacancy of an Organist" several times.

Therefore, if it were possible to compare the handwriting of the Christ Church organist and that the Trinity Church organist, it could be determined whether they were written by the same hand. On investigation I have been informed that Trinity Church has no vouchers or receipts of the 18th century, making it impossible to compare handwriting.

The Trinity Church organist, according to family tradition, at the age of 23 built a pianoforte, one of three which he made in his lifetime. His daughter, Anne, married the Rev. Samuel Parker, rector of Trinity Church, in November, 1776, and his biography has been published by the Masonic fraternity as he was grand master of the grand lodge of Massachusetts. As grand master he signed the charter of Harmonic Lodge of Hingham, Massachusetts.

In the hope that the signature on this charter might correspond with the signature in the Christ Church records, I was able to have the signatures compared by a Masonic authority, who has stated that there is no possibility of the signature on the charter being by the same hand as the photostat copy of the Christ Church organist. As John Cutler was an old man when he signed this charter, there is always the possibility that a deterioration of handwriting might exist, but at present John Cutler, the organist of Christ Church, remains a mystery. Who was he?

JAMES BARRICK

1761-1771

In 1760 Lewis Deblois was recalled to Christ Church as organist, as has been noted under his name. He served for one year and then the vestry began to cast about for another organist. This time they turned to England, as an occasion now presented itself for personal investigation.

Dark clouds had been gathering on the political horizon after the accession of George III; and the voice of Patrick Henry, of Virginia, carried over the colonies in such phrases as "taxation without representation," the "rights of free men," was to find an echo in Christ Church on an April evening in 1775. At home calamity had fallen upon Christ Church when in 1756 Dr. Cutler was stricken with a palsy, which incapacitated him for public service for the nine remaining years of his life.

After three years of assistance in the pulpit by neighboring rectors and a lay reader, James Greaton, the parish voted to send the latter to England for ordination, that he might become curate to Dr. Cutler.

Young Greateon took with him the following letter of instructions when he departed for England in October, 1759:

October 26, 1759. In Consequence of a Vote of the Wardens & Vestry at M^r Ballards Yesterday the Wardens wrote the following letter Viz.

Boston Oct^o 26th 1759.

M^r James Greateon

S^r In pursuance of a Vote of the Vestry of Christ Church dated 25th Inst empowering us to give you written instructions (as you are now intending for London) that you would endeavour when please God you arrive there to find a person that understands to play well on an Organ that is a Tradesman, a Barber would be most agreeable, one that has the Character of an Honest industrious man, that will be willing to come to Boston on the following Conditions to have fifteen or not exceeding Twenty pounds Sterling p annum to play on the organ in said Church at the usual times, to have his passage paid, and to have the encouragement of the Congregations improving him as they have occasion in his Occupation, which power we accordingly invest you with & hope you will endeavour to serve the Church herein.

We wish you success & are

S^r y^r most Humble Serv^{vt}

J Pigeon } Wardens of
Tho^s Ives } Christ Church

P. S. If you can, dont let your agreement be for more than a Years Trial, but by no means exceed Three Years.

JP
TI

Mr. Greateon evidently found no such person desirous of making the dangerous and uncomfortable voyage with scanty prospects ahead, and the wardens had to look nearer home.

James Barrick, a member of the vestry, was chosen and in 1761 began a long service of ten years as organist. He was evidently a man of strong personality, serving the parish well in several capacities. In 1764 he bought the pew formerly owned by Dr. Thomas Graves, the first senior warden of the church, and was one of the auditors of the wardens' accounts, a service repeated at subsequent intervals. In 1767 he was a co-signer with wardens, vestry and three other influential parishioners of a letter to the S. P. G., showing the status of the financial affairs of the church to be much depressed after Dr. Cutler's nine years' illness and the double charge of a curate. He signed the commendatory letter of Rev. Mather Byles, Jr., to the Venerable Society,

and contributed to the expenses of sending him to England for ordination as successor to the Rev. Dr. Cutler.

In 1771 the finances of the parish were causing grave concern, as a report submitted at an adjourned Easter Monday meeting shows indebtedness of over 175 pounds to Barrick. This was settled by a payment of £186/5 sh. in full in January, 1772, after which date his name no longer appears in the church records.

James Barrick was obviously an ornament to his profession as well as to the church which he had served so well.

JOHN NEWMAN

1771-1775

The last organist of Christ Church before the Revolution was John Newman, son of Thomas Newman, a prosperous Boston merchant, native of Norwich, England. Newman succeeded to the post of organist vacated by James Barrick on Easter Monday, 1771, almost without ceremony and possibly without salary, for the vote of the proprietors on Easter Monday, 1772, was simply that "Mr. Newman have the thanks of the church for performing as organist the year past." On the following Easter Monday, 1773, the sum of two pounds, sixteen shillings was voted to "Mr. Newman for his good services." The next year the first name "John" was inserted in a similar vote of three guineas for his "good services."

By the next Easter Monday, April 17, 1775, organs and organists were far from the minds of either vestry or proprietors. Boston was in a turmoil which was reflected in the church transactions, for Dr. Byles, the tory rector, was clamoring for his long overdue salary and dickering with the vestry of Queen's Chapel in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for a more lucrative post, while John Newman's younger brother, Robert, the sexton, in secret parley with Paul Revere and his group of patriots, was priming two lanterns for a signal to Charlestown the next night which effectually closed Christ Church until 1778. Presumably on the re-opening of the church in 1778 the organ was again in use. What John Newman was doing meanwhile is not known, only that he did return to Christ Church as organist.

It is an interesting coincidence that John Newman was born on December 29, 1736, only ten days after Christ Church opened its doors to a great company who came to hear a concert on the Claggett organ, the second church organ in Boston. As a music-loving boy living only a stone's throw from the church, he must have heard it many times. He was over eighteen years old when Thomas Johnston set up his

much finer instrument in Christ Church, the organ he was to play on many years later. Where he got his musical training, we do not know; in fact, very little is known of the Newman family, no genealogy of this branch of numerous immigrants of this name having been compiled.

From scattered sources a few facts have been gathered, collected at long intervals by descendants. From one source we learn that John was named for an uncle, Rev. John Newman; that he married Sarah (Sally) Flagg, August 4, 1757; and that a son, Joseph, was baptized by Dr. Cutler September 21, 1763.

POST-REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISTS

1783-1824

When Robert Newman slipped out of the east window in Christ Church after displaying the Paul Revere lanterns on that fateful April evening in 1775, his duties as sexton, as well as all religious services in Christ Church, came to an abrupt end. In 1778 the Rev. Stephen Christopher Lewis, who had been a chaplain in the British Army, took the oath of allegiance and became rector of Christ Church.*

In any event John Newman, who was organist in 1775, came back and was given thanks by vote of the proprietors on April 21, 1783, "for his past Services as an Organist. Likewise that he have the Benefit of a Collection at some day Appointed by the Wardens for that Purpose." This is the first mention of the use of the organ after Mr. Lewis became rector. Newman continued as organist until December, 1784, when records show that he was "stricken at the organ" and died on December 12th.

The position presumably was filled by Messrs. Rogers and Son, as on Easter Monday, 1786, the proprietors

Voted: That the Thanks of the Church be given to Mess^{rs} Rogers & Son for their past Services, & that the Pew occupied by their Family shall be free from a Tax the Year ensuing & also that a Contribution (on some Day to be appointed by the Warden) be collected for the Benefit of the said M^r Rogers & Son as Organists.

*Here might be a good place to mention that in the three years which the records show that Christ Church was closed, a tradition in the parish, seldom put into print, states that the French Protestants occupied the church at some time between 1775 and 1778, and that the parish nearly lost possession of the building. I have found no confirmation of this tradition, but it would be most interesting if the records of the French Protestant Church on Bromfield Street under the Rev. Mr. Daillé should confirm this.

Messrs. Rogers & Son were followed by William Bright in 1788. In this year there is an interesting vote about the use of the organ. On May 14 it was

1st Voted that there shall be performed in said Church on Wednesday the 21st Inst. Vocal and Instrumental Sacred Music. Tickets for admission @ 1/6 each. The amount to lessen the Expences that have arisen upon the Organ and if anything remains to be appropriated towards securing the tower.

2^d Voted that the Wardens be Desired to conduct the business necessary for having the Sacred Music performed.

There is no record of what was performed or of how much money was raised for any of these repairs.

William Bright was followed by Dr. Josiah Leavett, who had been the inspiration to William Goodrich years before in building organs. Dr. Leavett's salary in 1792 was six dollars from May to August, and from August until Easter, \$20.00, which was raised to \$30.00 in 1793, supplemented by an additional \$10.00 by a later vote. At this time \$5.00 was voted for repairing the organ. Dr. Leavett apparently continued as organist until Easter, 1795.

After Easter, 1795, there is no record of payment to an organist, but Dr. Birkenhead began in March, 1796, at a salary of \$80.00 per annum. The next year his salary was raised to \$100, which amount he continued to receive until Easter, 1799.

A vote by the proprietors to pay an organist \$100 does not specify to whom the amount was paid, but the Easter vote in 1800 was that the wardens "agree with an organist for the ensuing year, on the best Terms they can," still without mentioning the name of the organist; but the wardens voted in 1802 that any organist which they might select, should not be paid more than "One Dollar for each & every Day that he performs on the Organ." This vote was repeated in 1803 and 1804, and in 1804 it was also voted, "that the thanks of the Society be presented to William Wetherly for his services as organist to the last Easter."

In 1805 and 1806 the wardens voted to procure an organist, presumably at the same salary as voted in 1804.

By 1807 the financial conditions of the church had improved, or the demands of the organist had increased, and George C. Sweeney occupied the post at a salary varying from \$3.00 per Sunday to \$150 a year. However, in 1808, when \$100 was appropriated "for the purpose of defraying the Expenses of Singers & Organists Salary for the

Year ensuing," this was supplemented by a later vote: "That some Sunday in May or June next shall be appropriated by voluntary Contributions for defraying the Expences of the musical establishment of this Church." On April 3rd, 1809, it was

Voted: That the Salary of the Organist Geo. C. Sweeny for the Year ensuing be One hundred and Fifty Six Dollars to be assessed on the pew holders.

Voted: That an early day be appropriated to Musical performances in this Church, that the Rev^d Asa Eaton be requested to prepare an address for the occasion & that a contribution be made to defray the expences of the Singing Society.

James Hooton began his career as organist in 1819, the estimated amount for expenses being for

Organist	\$100
Bellows Blower	10
Singing Soc.	100

To the allotment of salary for organist, Mr. Hooton made strenuous objection, saying:

"I have played the Organ at the North Church about two years for 100 dollars per yr. which is (including the Evening Service) considerable less than one half the salary that some Organists have in this Town, as our Church is the only one that have Evening service the duty required of me is double that of any other therefore I do not think one hundred Dollars is sufficient."

Twenty dollars was added to his salary in reply to his request, and in 1823 he was receiving \$150, but the salary was again reduced to \$120 in 1824. It is reasonable to assume that he played the organ at the 100th anniversary service in December, 1823, but the time had come for a change, and in 1825 we find the first woman, Ann Ross, presiding at the organ in Christ Church, a custom followed at intervals during the next fifty years.

This brings the record of organists from 1736 to 1824, which was near the close of the first century of existence of Christ Church. Ever since the first organ had been set up, there had been unremitting efforts on the part of the wardens and vestries to maintain musical services, even through trying years of depression, inflation and two wars.

Christ Church had now reached the peak of its financial prosperity, and in the ensuing years the musical part of the service became, especially under the Rev. William Croswell, a very notable addition to the liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Boston.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Puritanism and Democracy. By Ralph Barton Perry. Pp. 678. \$5.00.
New York: The Vanguard Press. 1944.

This significant and scholarly book written by Ralph Barton Perry, professor of philosophy at Harvard University, author of the biography of William James, Pulitzer prize winner of 1936, is an eloquent tribute to the influence of Protestantism in the foundation of our American democracy. In this generation of international unions, world federations, and universal cosmopolitanism, it behooves those who have the shaping of the public mind from pulpit, press and school room to examine again more thoroughly the fundamental principles of Americanism; to become more acutely conscious of those underlying forces and their significance in providing the American way of life. In this present sweep of nationalism into internationalism, it is well to renew the landmarks of our national legacy in order to salvage that which is basic and essential to our chosen scheme of society.

Democracy has been challenged as perhaps never before in the history of our country. Dr. Perry has come valiantly to its defense with a rich array of historical evidence, pungent quotation and clear reasoning, a defense which, as he says, "a few years ago would have been condemned as hackneyed and banal," but today, "the rejection of democracy is regarded as evidence of superior wisdom." To negate this attitude, and to identify the American cause with the American tradition is the task which Dr. Perry has admirably accomplished in this book.

Puritanism and democracy form a substantial part of the heritage of Americans, and the alliance of puritanism and democracy have produced a combination significant of western culture. Both have their springs in the moral consciousness. Both are highly individualistic, both affirm the Christian code of justice, compassion, and personal dignity. The fact that the Bible was taken literally by the puritan as the revelation of divine will, and placed in the hands of every one to read and interpret, encouraged every one to use his own wits. The congregational form of government favored independence. "The members of a flock which has no appointed shepherd," comments Perry, "must nose one another into the paddock."

Both cults provided for the sublimation of worldly success. Although puritanism was otherworldly in its outlook and rigoristic in its ethics, it also justified man's attainment of wealth and earthly happiness. "The thrift and energy with which he pursued his calling were evidences of his godliness, and were rewarded by this world's goods as well as by divine favor." Similarly democracy affirmed the agreement of individual and universal happiness.

However, the predisposition of puritanism to democracy has been obscured in America by memories of the New England theocracy, bigoted and oligarchic. Perry shows, by producing historic evidence, that the optimistic and rationalistic temper of the Enlightenment was not a repudiation of Calvinism, but the actual flowering of a Calvinistic strain which was the religious inheritance of the Enlightenment. "It is not necessary . . . that the later historian should build a bridge from puritanism to democracy. The puritans themselves built such a bridge, and many of them crossed it, some decades before John Locke. Men such as Cromwell, Milton, Williams, and Penn belong alike to the history of protestantism and the history of democracy."

The experience of the American frontier served to weld puritanism and democracy into one. It gave to the founders of American democracy a sense of the special favor of providence. The conquest of nature and of territory verified the faith of men reared in the protestant tradition. "It transferred to American democracy certain traits of evangelical protestantism—a fervor of collective conviction, a crusading spirit and utopian enthusiasm" . . . The quantitative growth of America was taken as the soundness of American institutions. The role of America was not merely to flourish and expand, but to realize through physical greatness the ideal of civic righteousness."

It is in the historical development of these two forces of American tradition that Perry is at his best. He has delineated them, criticized, analyzed, and evaluated them, clearing away that which was transient and superficial until these two monuments of American culture stand out with amazing clearness and dignity. But he weakens his argument for democracy when he tries to make it a panacea for all governmental ills, particularly in those conditions arising from and having to do with wars. Democracy cannot change the human heart, the greed, the hatred, the hostility. Democracy has not failed. It is our application of democracy that has failed. Democracy stands for isolation, toleration, and individualism, and for the policy of *laissez faire*, to give the largest amount of freedom compatible with area and comfort. When the community becomes more firmly knit, more integrated, democracy loses much of its potency. Other doctrines of government necessarily take over.

After Perry has given an excellent case for democracy, one that stands strongly in its own right, he weakens his argument by attempting to fit it into our pattern of a growing socialistic concept. One does not feel that Perry is definitely in accord with this, but in a time of national and world war, it is difficult not to feel the pressure of popular opinion. It is here that Perry's argument loses its freshness and falls into the fallacy of transient thinking. Whether he is right or whether he is wrong, this conclusion does not seem to follow logically his basic definitions. We are disappointed in this note of retreat he has sounded. In our opinion it was not necessary.

However, the book is one of the most comprehensive, clearest and most convincing evaluations of these two bulwarks of Americanism, protestantism and democracy, that has appeared in recent times. When democracy is being bantered about, one is entitled to ask, what is this democracy so casually undermined in glib stock phrases? It is this that

Perry has so admirably answered. The whole aim of the book is a plea for Christian democracy, the birthright of the American nation. "The chief source of spiritual nourishment for any nation must be its own past, perpetually discovered and renewed. A nation which negates its tradition loses its historic identity and wantonly destroys its chief source of spiritual vitality. . . . He who rejects democracy chooses its alternatives: atavism and obscurantism; the absorption of the individual into the mass, his assimilation to a pattern, or the exchange of his genuine interests for a fictitious corporate good."

The book is too intricate for the average reader, too heavy for popular perusal, but it is definitely to be recommended to the scholarly minded person. Perry is particularly happy in his choice of illustrations, which he draws from a rich background of extensive scholarship. Lending brightness and humor rather than heaviness to the text, they are unusually apt, entertaining and colorful. His definitions are excellent, and he is exceptionally quotable. Although he may reiterate well-known and self-evident principles of sound Americanism, these principles revolving in the light of well selected historical evidence reveal facets of thought new and interesting in themselves.

The book is well annotated, but does not produce the melancholy effect of the severely documented work with references at the foot of each page. The references, placed at the back of the book, are indicated by small, inconspicuous numbers, which do not break up the continuity of the page, nor annoyingly hinder the progress of the reader. The references thus placed serve a twofold purpose, that of a bibliography as well as that of footnotes.

MAUD O'NEIL.

*University of California,
at Los Angeles.*

The Completion of Independence, 1790-1830. By John Allen Krout, Professor of History, Columbia University, and Dixon Ryan Fox, President of Union College. [A History of American Life, Volume V.] (New York, Macmillan Company, 1944, xxiii, 487 pp. \$4.00.)

The cry of the layman for social history is rarely satisfied. He wants less of politics and battles, more of the arts and the professions, and of the every day life of men. For England this demand was well met in Green's *Short History of the English People* (1874), where the people are the heroes, and the spotlight is on their lives and on literature, religion, and science. This work is the only one volume classic owned by any people.

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tions and achievements, to show the whole life of the country. Each chapter is an essay which one may read with pleasure.

The chapter, entitled "The Conservative Tradition," is given to the work of churches and colleges. These pages may be read with profit and each critic will perhaps wish to compose his own version as he goes along. The importance of religion in the building of our country is receiving increasing recognition by historians. This section concludes with the striking observation that in the early 1830's, "despite the lack of a national church, religion was the foremost institution of the country, more influential in America than in any other land."

For the scholar, the most valuable chapter is that on critical authorities. The illustrations are an interesting and distinctive feature.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

University of California, Los Angeles.

A Short History of the Boys' School of Saint Paul's Parish, Baltimore.
By Arthur B. Kinsolving, D. D. Baltimore, privately printed.
43 pp.

This is the story of a small parish school established by St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, in 1849 to serve a special need; which became a notable choir school to train boys for St. Paul's choir; and now has developed into a strongly established preparatory school with about 250 pupils. The names of great leaders in the Church cluster around the little school. Founded by the rector, Rev. Dr. William E. Wyatt, president of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies of the General Convention at eight successive triennial meetings, it was given its distinctive atmosphere as a choir school by the Rev. Dr. J. S. B. Hodges as rector and Dr. Miles Farrow as organist and musical director, and has been brought to its larger development as a general preparatory boarding and day school under the Rev. Dr. Arthur B. Kinsolving, for more than thirty years rector and now rector emeritus of St. Paul's Church.

In these days of growing realization of the need of greater emphasis upon Christian ideals and character training in all education of youth, the story of a school which for nearly a century has held fast to those ideals and has made a place for itself in the life of a large city, is of more than local or passing interest.

G. McLAREN BRYDON.

The History of St. James' Church (Protestant Episcopal). 1744-1944.
By H. M. J. Klein, Ph. D., Litt. D., and William F. Diller. Published by the Vestry of St. James' Church, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. 1944.

From every point of view a model parish history—well written; well documented; well printed; well illustrated; and covering a period

of two hundred years. The parish was organized in 1744 by the Rev. Richard Locke, services being held in the Court House. From that time the story is carried on to the present day. Of special interest is the section devoted to the ministry of the Rev. Thomas Barton, who also served as chaplain in the expedition of General Forbes in the French and Indian War. It is noted that the population of Lancaster, being largely Germans, were held back from joining St. James' because it lacked an organ. As a loyalist Mr. Barton found himself in a difficult position during the War of the Revolution. The leading members of his church being patriots, the church was perforce closed "to avoid the fury of the populace who would not suffer the Liturgy to be used unless the Collects and Prayers for the King were omitted," and for two years Mr. Barton "was confined to his house." His last days were spent as a refugee in New York where he died at the age of 50.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

G. I. Parson. By Francis W. Read. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Company. 1945.

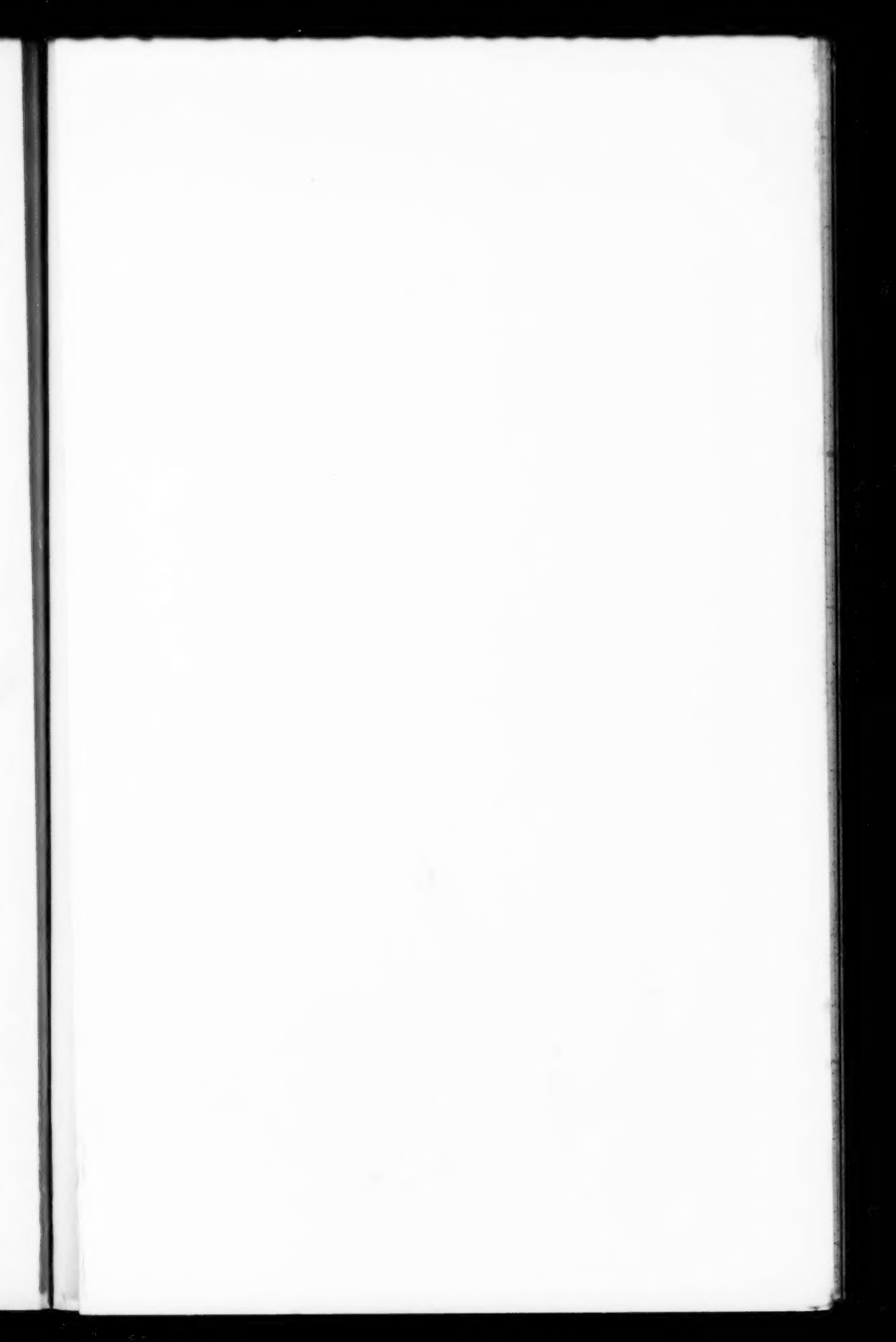
Five months after Pearl Harbor Mr. Read became a chaplain in the United States Army, and this slender volume records his experiences for three years on transports, on hospital duty, serving in the Mojave Desert and in a medical battalion, and from thence to the Aleutian Islands. Chaplain Read tells the story of his varied experiences with simplicity and sincerity. It is dedicated "To the memory of the officers and men of the Seventh Infantry Division who have laid down their lives that their country may live".

E. C. C.

"The Foundation and Early Work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." By Samuel Clyde McCulloch, in *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. VIII (1945), pp. 241-258.

This is the best account of the foundation and early work of the S. P. G., in eighteen pages, known to this reviewer. We in America, quite naturally, are more interested in what the S. P. G. did in the colonies rather than in how they were able to do it. Yet, in view of the great work which the Venerable Society has done, and still does, in various parts of the world, we ought to know more of the inner workings of this great benefactor of the Church in America and throughout the world. Among other things, Dr. McCulloch tells us how the Society raised its funds. Way back in the 1700's the S. P. G. anticipated the every member canvass of the twentieth century American parish: "This general fund, moreover, was often augmented by house-to-house collections for which Royal Letters were issued on six different occasions in the eighteenth century."

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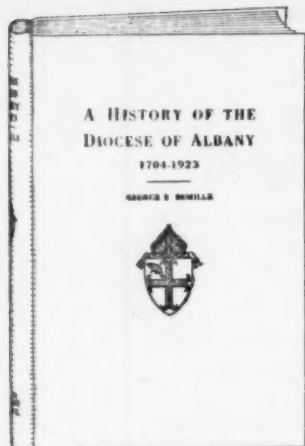
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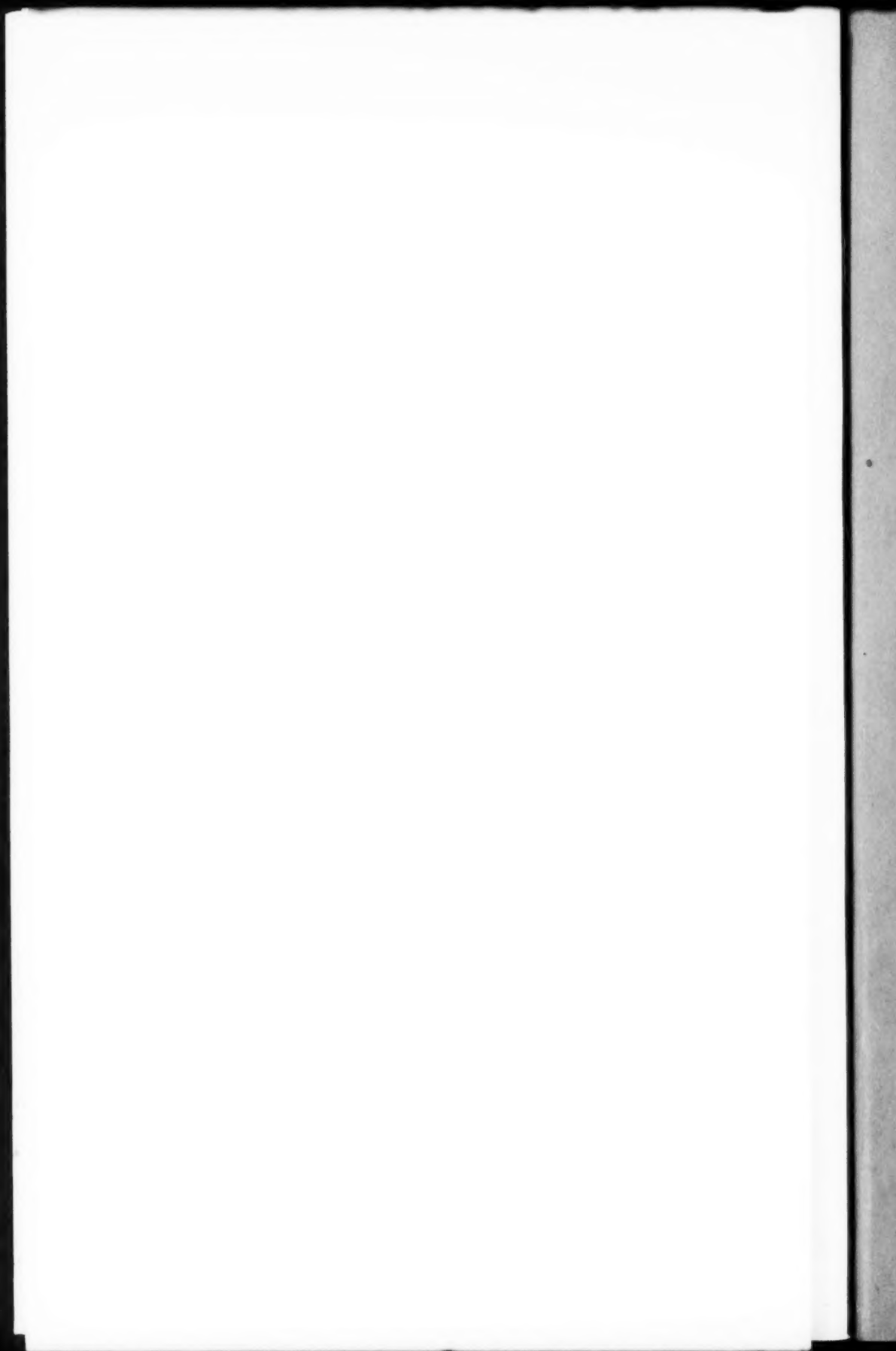
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